LIVY

Book XXIII

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LIVY

BOOK XXIII

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PREFACE

THIS edition follows the same general plan as those already prepared for the University Press by Messrs Edwards, Conway, Stephenson, Whibley, Anderson, Dimsdale, Marshall, and Campbell. The literature that has gathered round every Greek and Latin author is now of enormous extent and there must be much of it bearing on Livy that I have never touched. The books of which I have made most use are the following: the commentaries of Weissenborn-Müller (1907), and Wölfflin-Luterbacher (1883), and the critical editions of Alschefski (1846) and Luchs (1888)[1]: on points of grammar and criticism I have referred to Madvig's *Emendationes Livianae* (1877) and his paper on Livian Syntax in his *Kleine Philologische Schriften* (1875), O. Riemann's *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite Live* in the Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, to the same author's *Latin Syntax* (1879), to Draegh's *Historische Syntax* (1878), and occasionally to the new edition of Kühner, Vol. II (1914), as well as to the ordinary grammars: then there are those

[1] It is to be hoped that the exhaustive critical edition of Livy by Messrs Conway and Walters (Oxford Classical Texts), of which Books I to V are published, may be continued and completed.

three great storehouses of Teutonic industry which no editor of Livy can neglect—Mommsen and Marquardt's *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, the *Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* edited by Iwan Müller, and L. Lange's *Römische Alterthümer*: for topography and military history we have the great work of Kromayer and Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, with its admirable photographs and maps: for the sources of Livy's history the best authority seems to be W. Soltau's *Livius' Quellen in der iii Dekade*, and another useful book is H. Hesselbarth's *Historisch-Kritische Untersuchungen zur dritten Dekade des Livius*[1]. I have also gathered information from various articles and reviews in the 29 volumes of the *Classical Review*.

An editor of a classical volume in this series has to consider for whom his commentary is intended. There is no doubt that the needs of teachers as well as of learners should be kept in view, a fact which critics are apt to forget. Some of my notes and most of the references to the above-mentioned books will be of little use to schoolboys or undergraduates, but they may be worth the consideration of teachers, as opening up various lines of inquiry and indicating where further information may be procured if needed.

A. G. P.

September 1916.

[1] There are many other books on Livy's sources, perhaps too many, of which I know nothing. See a list in Teuffel I 527 (Engl. Transl.).

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INTRODUCTION

THE CAMPAIGN OF 216–215 B.C.

IT is unnecessary for the purpose of this book to trace the history of the Carthaginian war before the battle of Cannae. The student will find all the information that he needs in any one of the numerous histories of Rome written for school use. But for a complete understanding of Book XXIII a more detailed examination of the narrative is required. Unfortunately Livy himself had no access to accurate information, and did not possess that combination of historical insight and practical knowledge of strategy that might have enabled him to reconstruct a clear and consecutive story out of his scanty materials. He gives us now a scrap from one annalist, now a scrap from another, sometimes a blending of authorities, sometimes a duplicate version of the same occurrence; yet such is the literary charm of the style, so vivid are the sketches of character and incident, that we forgive and forget the defective presentation of the historical events. The following summary of the course of the campaign after Cannae, being intended for readers of Book XXIII, is mainly based on Livy's own account and must be regarded as to some extent conjectural.

A. ITALY.

The great battle of Cannae was fought 2 August 216 according to the Roman calendar of that time. In the reformed calendar this appears to represent some date in the early summer, probably in May or June. After the Roman defeat the surviving consul, M. Terentius Varro, with about fifty

horsemen fled to Venusia on the borders of Lucania and Apulia and nearly thirty miles from the battlefield[1]. About 4200 of the troops left in the larger camp, including 600 men who had previously cut their way out from the smaller camp to the larger, half-armed and bereft of most of their officers, marched to Canusium, a strongly fortified town about five miles from Cannae, where they were hospitably entertained by the inhabitants. Here also arrived 5800 other fugitives, making a total force at Canusium of about 10,000 men[2]. The handful of horsemen at Venusia, reinforced by a body of 4500 men who had escaped from the battlefield, subsequently joined the force already assembled at Canusium, thus restoring, as Livy says, some semblance of a consular army, numbering apparently 14,550 men. Meanwhile the Carthaginians captured and plundered the Roman camps, taking a vast quantity of booty and increasing the number of their captives to 19,300.

The Roman state was now confronted with a situation of extreme peril. The field army had been almost annihilated. Nothing stood between Hannibal and Rome. The senate met in the Curia Hostilia and decided first of all to send out a mounted reconnaisance to discover the number and position of the enemy forces, to penetrate their designs, and to report on the possibility of collecting troops to oppose them. The senators themselves made it their business to allay the fears of the citizens and to put the city into a proper state of defence[3]. But Hannibal, though urged to advance on Rome[4], knew that his siege train was insufficient for the investment of the capital, and that his march thither through a country subdued by Rome and permeated by Roman influences would tend to disintegrate

[1] XXII 49.

[2] XXII 50, 52, 54, 56. Dimsdale (note on 54 § 4) seems to exclude the 600 from the 4200; in that case the total at Canusium before the arrival of the men from Venusia will be 10,600 (4200 + 600 + 5800), not 10,000 as Livy says. Kromayer (III 344) gives the final total as 14,500, so apparently Dimsdale (56 § 2); but each of them omits the 50 horsemen, who are worth counting in.

[3] XXII 55. [4] XXII 51.

his weakened army. Two further reasons must have influenced him. By advancing towards Rome he would be moving out of reach of his oversea supplies which would come, if at all, to the south coast of Italy, and furthermore he knew that he could gain large support in the loosely organised districts of South Italy with its numerous Greek towns. His policy therefore was to abstain for the present from pitched battles and to consolidate his resources in the south. And in fact we find that his expectations were to a great extent realised. Sooner or later the towns of Atella and Calatia, the Hirpini, a great part of Apulia and of Samnium, most of the Bruttians with the Lucanians, the town of Uzentum, and nearly all the Greek district in the extreme south, declared in his favour[1]. On the other hand the Romans could not risk another great battle, and their best policy was now to save if possible the rich district of Campania by holding the line of the Volturnus and controlling the Appian and Latin Roads which converged at Casilinum. When the senate had received full information on the political and military situation it took the following measures. M. Claudius Marcellus, who was in command of the fleet at Ostia, was ordered to Canusium to take over the command of the forces assembled there in place of the consul Varro who was summoned to Rome. Marcellus left behind 1500 men whom he had recently enrolled for service in the fleet to garrison the city, and himself hurried with the third legion consisting of marines to Canusium. A levy of youths over seventeen years[2] of age (and some under) was held, which resulted in the formation of four legions and 1000 cavalry, and these were supplemented by a force raised from the allied communities. The state also offered voluntary enlistment to 8000 slaves, and two urban legions were set free for general service[3]. The dictator, M. Iunius Pera, also had recourse to the bold expedient of enrolling criminals of various grades to

[1] XXII 61.

[2] This was the usual age for enlistment at Rome. Nowadays 19 (in the present emergency 18) is considered the proper limit.

[3] XXII 57.

the number apparently of 6000, and having completed his preparations left Rome at the head of a force estimated at 25,000[1].

Meanwhile Hannibal, in pursuance of his plan of securing South Italy, marched into Samnium and occupied Compsa. He then moved westwards towards Naples to provide himself with a maritime base, but the strength of the fortifications deterred him from attempting a siege. He then marched northward to Capua, the richest town of one of the richest districts of Italy. After a complicated intrigue which Livy describes at length, the citizens, under the leadership of Pacuvius Calavius, made peace with Hannibal on the condition that no Carthaginian should have jurisdiction over them and that there should be no compulsion to serve in the Punic army. Another condition was that 300 Roman captives should be exchanged for the like number of Campanian knights who were serving in Sicily. These terms were vigorously but unsuccessfully opposed by Decius Magius, in whose character and fortunes Livy seems to take a peculiar interest. Hannibal entered Capua, promising the citizens the speedy fulfilment of the ambition they had long cherished of making their city the capital of Italy. From Capua he marched south-east towards Nola where the populace favoured his side. The councillors of Nola to gain time entered into prolonged negotiations with Hannibal, while they sent urgent messages to Marcellus who was now at Casilinum. He followed a mountain track east of the Via Appia and appeared before Nola. Hannibal then moved westward and made another attempt to secure a sea base at Neapolis, but, again frustrated, took the coast route between the sea and Vesuvius, and captured and burned Nuceria. Thence he returned again to Nola, which was now occupied by Marcellus. A battle was fought[2] in which the Romans gained the ad-

[1] XXIII 14.

[2] Livy's references to Nola can hardly be accurate: he makes out that the people of Nola conspired three, if not four, times against Rome (14 § 7, 16 § 2, 42–46, XXIV 13 § 8 foll.) and each time Marcellus came to the rescue and on three occasions fought a successful battle. It

vantage, and Hannibal moved north-westward to Acerrae which he destroyed by fire after the flight of its inhabitants[1]. Marcellus now moved to a strong position called after him the Castra Claudiana on the Colle Cancello just above Suessula and close to the site of the present railway station of Cancello. Hannibal then, having apparently heard that the dictator Junius Pera with his large force was on his way to Casilinum and was likely to be welcomed by the inhabitants, moved northwards to attack this important town garrisoned by about 1000 men mostly from Praeneste and Perusia, the capture of which would secure the junction of the Appian and Latin roads. But the garrison made a stout defence and he retired foiled of his purpose. Winter was now approaching, and leaving a sufficient force to invest the town and restrict its supplies, he withdrew his troops into winter quarters in Capua. It is stated by Livy and others that life in this luxurious and licentious town seriously demoralised his veteran troops. The statement ill accords with what we know of the military capacity and energy of the great Carthaginian, even if we reject with Gibbon the report that at some other period of his life "in order to preserve his troops from the dangerous temptations of idleness he had obliged them to form large plantations of olive trees along the coast of Africa[2]." On this occasion it is probable that he would employ detachments of his troops in rotation to carry on the investment and not leave any portion of them idle for the whole winter. At any rate in the early spring he took Casilinum, which was reduced to the extremity of famine, and left a garrison in it. Probably it was about this time that Hannibal entrenched himself in a strong position on Mt Tifata, west of

must be remembered that his army consisted mainly of the discredited legions from Cannae; if they had won the signal victory indicated in 16 §§ 15, 16 would they have been still in disgrace in 214 (XXIV 18)? Hesselbarth 462 foll., Soltau 142.

[1] It is hard to reconcile the details of Livy's account of the capture of Nuceria, Acerrae and Casilinum with the narratives of Appian and Zonaras: cp. Hesselbarth 463–467.

[2] Gibbon I 336 (Bury).

Capua, dominating the plain of Campania. But Carthaginian operations were not confined to Campania. In the south of Italy a large force under Hannibal's nephew Hanno was besieging Petelia in Bruttium which after a gallant defence, prolonged for some months, was finally captured by Himilco[1]. The Carthaginians then took Consentia, and with the aid of a force raised by the Bruttians, who were almost entirely on their side, took the once famous town of Croton. The people of Locri also joined them[2]. Rhegium was the only important town in Bruttium that held to the Roman alliance. From Sicily messages reached Rome clamouring for fresh supplies of food and money mainly for the use of the fleet under P. Furius who had just arrived at Lilybaeum from Africa. The state applied to its old ally, king Hiero of Syracuse, and succeeded in obtaining considerable assistance from him. During the course of this winter a proposal was made to win over the Latin communities to a more sympathetic union with Rome by offering the citizenship to certain representatives of those communities and admitting them to the senate, but the old prejudice against the Latins prevailed and nothing was done. At the consular elections L. Postumius and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus were appointed to hold office for the ensuing year. Soon afterwards news reached Rome that the consul designate Postumius had been defeated and slain by the Gauls in N. Italy. The disaster caused the utmost dismay. The senate met and passed various measures to meet the emergency. They decided that the Gauls might be left alone for the present till the enemy in the south should be crushed. The troops who had escaped from Cannae and were under the command of Marcellus were to be sent to Sicily as unworthy of confidence, and fresh troops were summoned in their place from the island. The army at Teanum under the dictator M. Iunius Pera was to be weeded of its

[1] The capture of Petelia must have taken place in 215, the siege having lasted eleven months, but Livy reckons it among the events of 216.

[2] This statement also anticipates the future. The defection of Locri is described in XXIV 1 foll. and belongs to 215.

inefficients and placed under consular command. Two urban legions, together with the fresh troops from Sicily, were to be assigned to whosoever should succeed Postumius.

The new civil year began 15 March 215, and on that day the consuls entered office. A new consul had to be appointed in place of Postumius. Marcellus was elected, but owing to a flaw in his election he resigned office and Q. Fabius Maximus was elected instead, this being his third consulship. The two consuls then made their distribution of forces. In his statements about the composition of the new armies Livy involves himself and his readers in such a tangled maze of obscurity that it is almost impossible to give a precise account of any one of them. He seems to have had a bad memory and rarely, if ever, to have referred back to his own narrative. The following account must therefore be taken as only approximately correct, but to a student of the campaign it will be of importance and interest.

Fabius was put in command of a portion of the army raised by the dictator, possibly the four legions and 1000 cavalry mentioned in XXII 57 § 10, together with the 6000 released prisoners. To the other consul, Sempronius, were assigned from the dictator's army the 8000 slave volunteers, 25,000 men levied from the allied communities, comprising apparently the unspecified number mentioned in XXII 57 § 10, together with others subsequently raised, and, at first, the two urban legions. Marcellus was then placed in command of the two urban legions, transferred to him by Sempronius, and of a portion of the troops from Sicily. The bulk of the two Sicilian legions was given to the praetor M. Valerius. C. Terentius Varro was ordered to levy fresh forces in Picenum. His veteran troops who had escaped from Cannae and were in disfavour were sent to Sicily. We thus distinguish at least five distinct armies under the following leaders: Fabius, first at Teanum, then at Cales; Sempronius, first at Sinuessa, then moving to Liternum and to Cumae; Marcellus, in a strong position called after him Castra Claudiana, near Suessula; M. Valerius, at Luceria in Apulia; C. Terentius Varro, in Picenum. We also catch a distant glimpse of a force in Lucania under Ti. Sempronius Longus.

By sea the utmost vigilance was required; a fleet was dispatched to the south-east coast of Italy, another to cruise off the Tiber, and another was to watch the coast of Sicily. The above-mentioned distribution of forces shows that the town of Capua was no longer a safe position for Hannibal, and this accounts for his withdrawal in the early spring to the far stronger, if not impregnable, position on Mt Tifata eastward of Capua.

Livy now proceeds to describe the negotiations between Hannibal and King Philip of Macedon, the adventures, trickeries and final capture of the royal envoys, and the measures taken by the senate to meet the new danger. The next movement recorded in Italy is a treacherous attempt on the part of the Campanians to obtain possession of Cumae, which was frustrated with serious loss to the Campanians by the prompt action of the consul Sempronius, who had just shifted his position from Sinuessa to Liternum and now transferred his quarters to Cumae. Hannibal, hearing of the affair and hoping to surprise the half-trained forces of the consul and gain possession of the seaport of Cumae, quitted his entrenched camp on Tifata and marched towards Cumae, but, finding the place stronger than he expected and having no siege equipment, returned to his camp. As the Campanians however persisted in urging a second attempt he again advanced, taking with him a siege train, and invested the town. Sempronius made a vigorous defence, inflicting severe loss on the enemy, who again withdrew to Tifata. Meanwhile the Romans were gaining successes in Lucania, Samnium and Apulia. The consul Fabius now moved south from Cales, crossed the Volturnus and captured some small towns; then, passing between Capua and Hannibal's camp on Tifata, he occupied Marcellus' camp on the Colle Cancello[1] and dis-

[1] 39 § 8. Kromayer (III 401 note 2) points out that Fabius is not likely to have pursued this dangerous route while Hannibal was still on Tifata. The movement in question must have taken place after Hannibal's expedition to Nola mentioned in 43 § 5, and therefore the

patched that general to Nola, where there were threats of an armed rising against the Romans. Marcellus established himself there and proceeded to raid the surrounding country. The Punic partisans sent envoys to Hannibal praying for aid. Hannibal forthwith marched to Nola, where he was joined by Hanno from Bruttium with a fresh force recently arrived from Carthage. Finding that his supporters were unable to surrender the town, he began a regular siege, but after a desperate struggle was defeated with serious loss, Marcellus thus gaining his second victory over Hannibal under the walls of Nola. The increasing strength of the Romans in Campania seems now to have compelled Hannibal to alter his plans. He decided to abandon Campania, to send Hanno back to Bruttium, and himself withdraw to Apulia. The Carthaginians would there be among tribes for the most part friendly and would be nearer to a safe maritime base, where the much-needed supplies from Carthage could reach them. The season was advancing and he began to prepare winter quarters at Arpi. After his departure Fabius provisioned and strengthened his fortified post at Suessula[1] and harried the Campanian district by frequent cavalry raids. Marcellus was ordered to maintain a strong garrison at Nola and to send the rest of his troops to Rome. The consul Sempronius moved from Cumae to Luceria in Apulia and sent the praetor Valerius, who had previously been stationed there,

statement that Fabius on reaching the Castra Claudiana dispatched Marcellus to Nola must be wrong. Marcellus must have been at Nola already. Another mark of carelessness in Livy's narrative is seen in 39 §§ 5, 6 where he seems to state that Fabius captured Combulteria, Trebula and Austicula after crossing the Volturnus; but these places were north of the Volturnus where Fabius crossed it.

[1] 48 § 2 *hiberna aedificavit*, but Soltau points out that Fabius could not have spent the winter here because when Hannibal threatened Nola in the spring of 215 Marcellus was hurriedly recalled to Suessula, from which place he at once threw a force of 6500 men into Nola. It seems clear therefore that before the arrival of Marcellus there was no strong force at Suessula. The movements of Fabius are hard to follow, cp. XXIV 12 § 5.

to Brundisium to hold that part of the coast and make the necessary provision for a Macedonian war. At this point the narrative of events in Italy comes to an end.

B. Carthage, Spain and Sardinia.

Livy digresses four or five times from his narrative of the war in Italy to describe the state of affairs in Carthage and the fortunes of war in Spain and Sardinia, which for convenience we may group together.

In the summer of 216 Hannibal sent his brother Mago first to Bruttium to receive the surrender of some towns and then to Carthage to bear the news of his great victories and of the adherence of several south Italian tribes. This mission must have taken place in the late summer or autumn of 216. Mago carried with him the gold rings taken from the fingers of Roman knights slain at Cannae, and poured them out in a heap before the admiring gaze of the Carthaginian senate. In his speech he urged the supreme importance of sending large supplies of men, money and provisions. Hanno, styled "the Great," the leader of the peace party, who had been an unsuccessful general and was a bitter political opponent of Hannibal, rose to reply, and a lively altercation followed between him and Mago, in which the former argued after the manner of the pacificist against the practical soldier. The war party however prevailed, and it was decided to send large reinforcements. Carthage was to furnish some, and officers were sent to Spain to collect others. Troops were also to be sent to Spain to reinforce Hasdrubal who was then in the neighbourhood of the Ebro. His activity at this time was impeded by a defection of the Spanish ship captains[1], and by a rising among the Turdetani

[1] XXII 19 § 11, XXIII 26 § 4, Polybius III 96 § 4. The words *transitio* and *transfugae* used by Livy are not strictly correct. These naval officers did not go over to the Roman side after their reverse in the naval engagement, but betook themselves to the South of Spain where they stirred up disaffection against Carthage among the Turdetani.

in the south of Spain which recalled him from the Ebro. Having settled affairs there he again moved north where the two Scipios, Publius and Gnaeus, were operating, the former by land, the latter by sea. In narrating the details of the Spanish campaign Livy is even less precise than usual, and it is almost impossible to determine the chronological sequence of events. We learn that in the middle of Hasdrubal's campaign orders came that he was to march in full force to Italy. He therefore sent an urgent message to Carthage for some competent general with a new army to succeed him. Himilco was dispatched with a considerable force and repaired to Hasdrubal to receive the necessary instructions. The Romans promptly concentrated their force to bar the passage of Hasdrubal to Italy and began to besiege the wealthy and important town of Hibera, the exact locality of which is unknown. Hasdrubal relieved Hibera by attacking another town which had recently surrendered to Rome and so drawing off the besieging army. Soon a pitched battle was fought somewhere near Hibera which resulted in the total defeat of Hasdrubal. The news was received at Rome with joy, for it was understood that Hasdrubal's Italian expedition was now definitely stopped. But the Carthaginian government had not relied solely on the army in Spain under Hasdrubal. They had equipped Mago, Hannibal's brother, with a large force to be conveyed to Italy by sea, and reports of the unsettled state of Sardinia[1] induced them to aim at the complete subjugation of this island as a stepping-stone to Italy. It was now decided to make some redistribution and transference of forces, and to send Mago to Spain and Hasdrubal to Sardinia. Rome dispatched a legion under T. Manlius

[1] Sardinia was taken from Carthage by the Roman general T. Manlius Torquatus in 235. Corsica was subdued in 231, and in the same year the two islands were together constituted a Roman province and placed under the administration of a praetor. The Punic settlers were apparently not forced to leave the islands, and consequently we find a strong party in Sardinia intriguing with Carthage. The inhabitants had a bad reputation for inconstancy and treachery, hence the proverb *Sardi venales*.

Torquatus to reinforce the troops already in Sardinia. By this accession the strength of the army of occupation was raised to 22,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry. Hostus, son of Hampsicora, leader of the insurgents, with the rashness of inexperienced youth, provoked a battle and was defeated, but Hasdrubal, whose fleet had been damaged and delayed by storms off the Balearic isles, now arrived and inspired the rebels with new hopes. The Sardinians however had little fighting capacity, and Hasdrubal had to rely mainly on his own troops. After various skirmishes a decisive battle was fought in which the Carthaginians were defeated with great slaughter. Hasdrubal with other nobles was captured; Hostus was slain and Hampsicora committed suicide. Torquatus returning to Rome announced the complete subjugation of the island. Hasdrubal's ships on their way back encountered a Roman flotilla, which had been raiding the Carthaginian coast, and suffered some loss. But the efforts of Carthage to relieve Hannibal were not yet exhausted. A force under Bomilcar succeeded in crossing to Italy and joined Hanno in Bruttium.

During this period the Scipios in Spain, though holding their own successfully, were straitened for lack of supplies and sent urgent requests to Rome for assistance. Funds were raised, a special appeal being made to rich contractors, with a state guarantee of security, and the necessary supplies were provided. The large expenditure was soon justified by the results. The towns of Iliturgi and Intibili which were beleagured by three armies under the command of Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, Mago, and Hannibal the son of Bomilcar were saved, and the enemy defeated with terrible slaughter[1]. Most of the Spanish tribes now transfered their allegiance to Rome.

C. Political Organisation of Italy.

A brief note, however imperfect, on the political organisation of the townships of Italy may be of use to the readers of this book. At an early period an alliance was formed between

[1] A siege of Iliturgi is described in XXIV 41 under the events of 214. This may be a duplicate version of the same siege.

Rome and the towns of Latium, and these towns constituted the Latin League. The Romans and Latins together established colonies called *coloniae Latinae* which were received on their establishment into the League. The League was closed to further accessions in 385 at which time it consisted of forty-seven towns. New Latin colonies however were subsequently founded, as isolated communities, having no relations with one another, but each connected by special ties with Rome. A war between Rome and the Latins broke out in 340, and ended with the victory of Rome in 338. Henceforth all the Latin towns, old and new, were treated as isolated communities, each with its own special connexion with the capital, and the rights they possessed were called *ius Latii* or *Latinitas*. They were reckoned among the allies (*socii*) of Rome. Fresh colonies were founded with the object of securing the district in which they were situated. As a general rule Rome gained the adherence of the upper classes in the provincial towns by the encouragement of direct commercial relations and of intermarriage. The war with Pyrrhus led to an extension of Roman influence over the whole of south Italy, and a number of new colonies were founded. The Greek towns of the south had to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, but their sympathies naturally remained Greek, and they were ready to take the side of any invader who was likely to assist them in shaking off the Roman yoke.

At the opening of the second Punic war we find the following different classes of communities in Italy :

1. Roman colonies *civium Romanorum* possessing full Roman rights. They served as strong military outposts. They were Ostia, Antium, Anxur or Tarracina, Minturnae, Sinuessa, Sena Gallica, Castrum Novum, Aesium, Alsium, Fregenae.

2. *Municipia* possessing the *civitas sine suffragio*, that is private, but not public citizen rights. The *municipia* were of two kinds :

(*a*) those which had an independent municipal existence with their own magistrates and council ;

(*b*) those which had no such independent existence, but

had their legal administration controlled by magistrates sent from Rome. These towns were called *praefecturae*[1] because of the *praefecti iuri dicundo* whom Rome appointed to administer justice. Capua[2] was such a *prefectura*, though it seems to have retained some of its local magistrates. With it were grouped Cumae, Casilinum, Puteoli, Volturnum, Acerrae, Suessula, Liternum, Atella, Calatia, all of which had their jurisdiction jointly conducted by four *praefecti* elected by the votes of the Roman people. All the *municipia* were liable to military service.

3. Latin Colonies. Of these there were twenty-three[3] at the opening of the second Punic war, called *Latini* or *socii nominis Latini* or *nomen Latinum*. They were Cales, Fregellae, Luceria, Suessa Aurunca, Pontiae, Saticula, Interamna, Sora, Alba, Narnia, Carseoli, Venusia, Hatria, Cosa, Paestum, Ariminum, Beneventum, Firmum, Aesernia, Brundisium, Spoletium, Cremona, Placentia. Of these colonies some possessed *commercium* and *connubium* with Rome, others only *commercium*. They were practically independent, but had to furnish troops.

4. *Civitates foederatae*. These towns had severally a *foedus* with Rome, engaging each party to certain mutual obligations. In the south of Campania were three leagues each consisting of a group of towns: (*a*) Neapolis with some islands, (*b*) Nola with other towns, (*c*) Nuceria with Pompei, Herculaneum, Stabiae. There was also a league of twelve Lucanian towns bound by such a *foedus* with Rome, and another of twelve Bruttian towns of which the chief was Cosentia. There was also a number of these confederate townships in other parts of Italy[4]. As a rule

[1] It seems likely that class (*a*) were also called *praefecturae* and that their own local jurisdiction was controlled by a prefect sent from Rome as a representative of the praetor, appointed not by the votes of the people, as the four *praefecti* above mentioned were, but by the praetor himself.

[2] It is very difficult to determine the exact status of Capua. See notes on 2 § 1, 4 § 3.

[3] Reckoning only those founded after the conclusion of the Latin war in 338.

[4] Taylor, *A constitutional and political history of Rome* (1899), p. 160.

they had *commercium* and *connubium* with one another, but not with Rome.

D. Livy's Authorities.

The authorities used by Livy in this book seem to have been mainly four in number.

1. L. Coelius Antipater, a contemporary of the Gracchi, wrote a history of the years 218–201 and composed his work probably between 110 and 100. It was of considerable value, his materials being drawn from various sources including the Greek writer Silenus of Calatia who accompanied Hannibal in Italy and was an authority on Carthaginian affairs.

2. L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, cos. 133. His history extended from the beginning of Rome to his own time : it seems to have been of a discursive character with numerous anecdotes. He was an authority on Roman law, and his work probably contained useful information on Roman constitutional procedure.

3. Valerius Antias, who lived in the first century B.C., wrote a history of Rome from the earliest times in at least seventy-five books. He was a most untrustworthy writer, indulging in the wildest exaggerations, as Livy himself discovered.

4. Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, in the first century, wrote Annales in not less than twenty-three books, beginning with the destruction of Rome by the Gauls. His work was copious but not trustworthy, though superior in accuracy to that of Antias. He seems to have lost no opportunity of exalting the merits of the Claudian gens to which he belonged.

5. In the later portion of his history Livy rightly makes considerable use of Polybius, but unfortunately the books of Polybius dealing with our period are lost, and we cannot say for certain whether Livy had access to them ; at any rate he seems to have made little or no use of them[1].

6. There must have been a large store of material at Rome in the shape of inscriptions and state documents, especially the *annales maximi*, issued in eighty books after 123 B.C. These

[1] "Von einer Kenntniss des Polybius zeigt dieses Buch überhaupt keine Spur," Soltau p. 137, but see Hesselbarth, p. 467.

would have furnished Livy with valuable information, but there is little evidence that he made any direct use of them.

7. Weissenborn in a short sketch of Livy's life in the preface to his edition (1875) mentions the statement of Seneca that Livy's daughter married a man named L. Magius. It is curious that the investigators of Livy's sources, so far as I know, never suggest that he may have followed the oral traditions or written records of the Magian family in his account of the internal history of Capua[1].

Wilhelm Soltau in *Livius' Quellen in der iii Decade* makes a careful examination of the materials used by Livy, and endeavours to assign the various portions of his narrative to their respective sources. It will be sufficient to reproduce here in a slightly abbreviated form, with due acknowledgment to this penetrating and ingenious critic, the following table of supposed sources for Book XXIII (Soltau p. 148):

Ch. 1—4[2]	Claudius	Ch. 21 § 1—25 § 11	Antias
6—7 § 3	Coelius	26—29	Claudius
7 § 4—§ 12	Antias	30—32 § 4	Piso
8, 9	Claudius	32 § 5—34 § 7	Antias
10	Antias	35—37	Claudius
11—14 § 4	Coelius	38	Antias
14 § 5—§ 13	Antias	39	Piso
15 § 1—§ 6	Coelius	40—41 § 7	Coelius
15 § 7—17 § 1	Claudius	41 § 8—§ 12	Piso
17 § 1—19 § 7	Antias and Claudius	41 § 13—48 § 3	Claudius
19 § 8—20 § 9	Antias and Coelius	48 § 4—end	Antias

[1] Interesting details about the gens Magia are given by Mr G. E. K. Braunholtz in *C. R.* XXIX 107 foll.

[2] I am glad to find that Soltau considers ch. 5 to be based on no authority whatever. No contemporary writer would have put such a pusillanimous speech into the mouth of a Roman consul who though defeated was still trusted by his fellow-countrymen. Livy was a strong Pompeian (cp. Tac. *An.* IV 34 *T. Livius Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret*), and is possibly gratifying a little spite against M. Terentius Varro, who had deserted Pompeius for Caesar, by thus depreciating a Varro. Yet as a rule the historian is singularly fair in his judgments.

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA
LIBER XXIII

PERIOCHA LIBRI XXIII

Campani ad Hannibalem defecerunt. nuntius Cannensis victoriae Mago Carthaginem missus anulos aureos corporibus occisorum detractos in vestibulo curiae effudit, quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur. post quem nuntium Hanno, vir ex Poenis nobilibus, suadebat senatui Carthaginiensium, ut pacem a populo Romano peterent; nec tenuit obstrepente Barcina factione. Claudius Marcellus praetor ad Nolam eruptione adversus Hannibalem ex oppido facta prospere pugnavit. Casilinum a Poenis obsessum ita fame vexatum est, ut lora et pelles scutis detractas et mures inclusi essent. nucibus per Vulturnum amnem a Romanis missis vixerunt. senatus ex equestri ordine hominibus centum nonaginta septem suppletus est. L. Postumius praetor a Gallis cum exercitu caesus est. Cn. et P. Scipiones in Hispania Hasdrubalem vicerunt et Hispaniam suam fecerunt. reliquiae Cannensis exercitus in Siciliam relegatae sunt, ne decederent inde nisi finito bello. Sempronius Gracchus consul Campanos cecidit. Claudius Marcellus praetor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam proelio fudit et vicit primusque tot cladibus fessis Romanis meliorem spem belli dedit. inter Philippum, Macedoniae regem, et Hannibalem societas iuncta est. praeterea in Hispania feliciter a P. et Cn. Scipionibus, in Sardinia a T. Manlio praetoribus adversus Poenos res gestas continet, a quibus Hasdrubal dux et Mago et Hanno capti. exercitus Hannibalis per hiberna ita luxuriatus est, ut corporis animique viribus enervaretur.

1 Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam castraque capta
ac direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat,
accitus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio, pollicente se Comp-
2 sam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter
suos; sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per
3 gratiam Romanorum potentis. post famam Cannensis
pugnae volgatumque Trebi sermonibus adventum Han-
nibalis cum Mopsiani urbe excessissent, sine certamine
4 tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. ibi
praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito
Magonem regionis eius urbes aut deficientis ab Romanis
accipere aut detractantis cogere ad defectionem iubet,
5 ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppug-
6 naturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. ubi
fines Neapolitanorum intravit, Numidas partim in in-
sidiis—et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti—,
quacumque apte poterat, disposuit, alios prae se actam
7 praedam ex agris ostentantis obequitare portis iussit. in
quos, quia nec multi et incompositi videbantur, cum
turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta
8 in insidias circumventa est; nec evasisset quisquam, ni
mare propinquom et haud procul litore naves, piscatoriae
pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi dedissent effugium.
9 aliquot tamen eo proelio nobiles iuvenes capti caesique,
inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius
10 cedentis secutus cecidit. ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum
absterruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta
oppugnanti.

2 Inde Capuam flectit iter luxuriantem longa felicitate
atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen inter corrupta
omnia licentia plebis sine modo libertatem exercentis.
2 senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Pacuvius Calavius
fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis homo, ceterum malis

artibus nanctus opes. is cum eo forte anno, quo res 3
male gesta ad Trasumennum est, in summo magistratu
esset, iam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occa-
sionem novandi res magnum ausuram facinus, ut, si in
ea loca Hannibal cum victore exercitu venisset, trucidato
senatu traderet Capuam Poenis, inprobus homo, sed 4
non ad extremum perditus, cum mallet incolumi quam
eversa re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem
esse orbatam publico consilio crederet, rationem iniit,
qua et senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi ac plebi faceret.
vocato senatu cum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium 5
placiturum nullo modo, nisi necessarium fuisset, prae- 6
fatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex Appi Claudi filia
haberet filiamque Romam nuptum M. Livio dedisset;
ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendam instare: 7
non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate sena-
tum plebem spectare, sed per caedem senatus vacuam
rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis velle; eo se 8
periculo posse liberare eos, si permittant sibi et certami-
num in re publica obliti credant,—cum omnes victi
metu permitterent, 'Claudam' inquit 'in curia vos et 9
tamquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps adprobando
consilia, quibus nequiquam adversarer, viam saluti vestrae
inveniam. in hoc fidem, quam voltis ipsi, accipite.' fide 10
data egressus claudi curiam iubet, praesidiumque in ves-
tibulo relinquit, ne quis adire curiam iniussu suo neve
inde egredi possit. tum vocato ad contionem populo **3**
'Quod saepe' inquit 'optastis, Campani, ut supplici
sumendi vobis ex inprobo ac detestabili senatu potestas
esset, eam non per tumultum expugnantes domos singu- 2
lorum, quas praesidiis clientium servorumque tuentur,
cum summo vestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac
liberam. clausos omnis in curia accipite, solos, inermis, 3

nec quicquam raptim aut forte temere egeritis; de singu-
lorum capite vobis ius sententiae dicendae faciam, ut
4 quas quisque meritus est poenas pendat. sed ante omnia
ita vos irae indulgere oportet, ut potiorem ira salutem
atque utilitatem vestram habeatis. etenim hos, ut opinor,
odistis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non voltis;
5 quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut, quod unum
liberae civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est.
itaque duae res simul agendae vobis sunt, ut et veterem
6 senatum tollatis et novom cooptetis. citari singulos
senatores iubebo deque eorum capite vos consulam;
quod de quoque censueritis, fiet. sed prius in eius
locum virum fortem ac strenuum novom senatorem
7 cooptabitis, quam de noxio supplicium sumatur.' inde
consedit, et nominibus in urnam coniectis citari quod
primum sorte nomen excidit ipsumque e curia produci
8 iussit. ubi auditum est nomen, malum et inprobum pro
9 se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. tum Pacuvius
'Video, quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo
10 atque inprobo bonum senatorem et iustum.' primo
silentium erat inopia potioris subiciundi; deinde, cum
aliquis omissa verecundia quempiam nominasset, multo
11 maior extemplo clamor oriebatur, cum alii negarent nosse,
alii nunc probra nunc humilitatem sordidamque inopiam
12 et pudendae artis aut quaestus genus obicerent. hoc
multo magis in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est
factum, ut ipsius paenitere homines appareret, quem
13 autem in eius substituerent locum, deesse, quia nec
eosdem nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda
probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque
14 ceteri erant eis, qui primi memoriae occurrebant. ita dilabi
homines, notissimum quodque malum maxume tolerabile
dicentes esse iubentesque senatum ex custodia dimitti.

Hoc modo Pacuvius cum obnoxium vitae beneficio **4**
senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset, sine
armis, iam omnibus concedentibus, dominabatur. hinc 2
senatores omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria plebem
adulari: salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere
epulis; eas causas suscipere, ei semper parti adesse, 3
secundum eam litem iudices dare, quae magis popularis
aptiorque in volgus favori conciliando esset; iam vero 4
nihil in senatu actum aliter, quam si plebis ibi esset
concilium. prona semper civitas in luxuriam non in-
geniorum modo vitio sed afluenti copia voluptatium et
inlecebris omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestrisque, tum 5
vero ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lascivire,
ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. ad con- 6
temptum legum magistratuum senatus accessit tum, post
Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius aliqua verecundia erat,
Romanum quoque spernerent imperium. id modo erat 7
in mora, ne extemplo deficerent, quod conubium vetus-
tum multas familias claras ac potentis Romanis miscuerat,
et, cum militarent aliquot apud Romanos, maximum 8
vinculum erant trecenti equites, nobilissimus quisque
Campanorum, in praesidia Sicularum urbium delecti ab
Romanis ac missi.

Horum parentes cognatique aegre pervicerunt, ut **5**
legati ad consulem Romanum mitterentur. ei nondum
Canusium profectum, sed Venusiae cum paucis ac semi-
ermibus consulem invenerunt, quam poterat maxime
miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis atque infidelibus, ut
erant Campani, spernendum. et auxit rerum suarum 2
suique contemptum consul nimis detegendo cladem
nudandoque. nam cum legati aegre ferre senatum popu- 3
lumque Campanum adversi quicquam evenisse Romanis
nuntiassent pollicerenturque omnia, quae ad bellum opus

4 essent, 'Morem magis' inquit 'loquendi cum sociis ser-
vastis, Campani, iubentes, quae opus essent ad bellum,
imperare, quam convenienter ad praesentem fortunae
nostrae statum locuti estis. quid enim nobis ad Cannas
5 relictum est, ut, quia aliquid habeamus, id, quod deest,
expleri ab sociis velimus? pedites vobis imperemus,
tamquam equites habeamus? pecuniam deesse dicamus,
6 tamquam ea tantum desit? nihil, ne quod suppleremus
quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna. legiones equitatus arma
signa equi virique pecunia commeatus aut in acie aut
7 binis postero die amissis castris perierunt. itaque non
iuvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum
8 pro nobis suscipiatis. veniat in mentem, ut trepidos
quondam maiores vestros intra moenia compulsos nec
Samnitem modo hostem sed etiam Sidicinum paventis,
receptos in fidem ad Saticulam defenderimus coeptum-
que propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum
9 prope annos variante fortuna eventum tulerimus. adicite
ad haec, quod foedus aequom deditis, quod leges vestras,
quod ad extremum, id quod ante Cannensem certe
cladem maximum fuit, civitatem nostram magnae parti
10 vestrum dedimus communicavimusque vobiscum. itaque
communem vos hanc cladem, quae accepta est, credere,
Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari
11 esse. non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut, quod
a nobis ablatum sit, in Italia tamen imperium maneat;
Poenus hostis, ne Africae quidem indigena, ab ultimis
terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque columnis, ex-
pertem omnis iuris et condicionis et linguae prope
12 humanae militem trahit. hunc natura et moribus in-
mitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit pontibus ac
molibus ex humanorum corporum strue faciendis et,
quod proloqui etiam piget, vesci corporibus humanis

docendo. his infandis pastos epulis, quas contingere 13
etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos et ex Africa
et a Carthagine iura petere et Italiam Numidarum ac
Maurorum pati provinciam esse, cui non, genito modo
in Italia, detestabile sit? pulchrum erit, Campani, pro- 14
lapsum clade Romanorum imperium vestra fide, vestris
viribus retentum ac reciperatum esse. triginta milia 15
peditum, quattuor equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi
posse; iam pecuniae adfatim est frumentique. si parem
fortunae vestrae fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse
sentiet nec Romani victos esse.'

Ab hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque **6**
domum legatis unus ex eis, Vibius Virrius, tempus
venisse ait, quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis
quondam per iniuriam ademptum reciperare, sed im-
perio etiam Italiae potiri possint: foedus enim cum 2
Hannibale quibus velint legibus facturos; neque con-
troversiam fore, quin, cum ipse confecto bello Hannibal
victor in Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiae
imperium Campanis relinquatur. haec Virrio loquenti 3
adsensi omnes ita renuntiant legationem, uti deletum
omnibus videretur nomen Romanum. extemplo plebs 4
ad defectionem ac pars maior senatus spectare; extracta 5
tamen auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res.
postremo vincit sententia plurium, ut eidem legati, qui
ad consulem Romanum ierant, ad Hannibalem mit-
terentur. quo priusquam iretur certumque defectionis 6
consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a Campanis in
quibusdam annalibus invenio postulantis, ut alter consul
Campanus fieret, si rem Romanam adiuvari vellent;
indignatione orta summoveri a curia iussos esse missum- 7
que lictorem, qui ex urbe educeret eos atque eo die
manere extra finis Romanos iuberet. quod quia nimis 8

compar Latinorum quondam postulatio erat, Coeliusque
et alii id haud sine causa praetermissuri erant scriptores,
ponere pro certo sum veritus.

7 Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt pacemque cum eo
condicionibus his fecerunt, ne quis imperator magistra-
tusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Campanum haberet,
neve civis Campanus invitus militaret munusve faceret;
2 ut suae leges, sui magistratus Capuae essent; ut trecentos
ex Romanis captivis Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi
elegissent, cum quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in
3 Sicilia stipendia facerent, permutatio fieret. haec pacta;
illa insuper, quam quae pacta erant, facinora Campani
ediderunt: nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos
alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos partim
privatis negotiis inplicitos, plebs repente omnis con-
prehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit,
ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in
modum expirarunt.

4 Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, sum-
ma ope Decius Magius, vir, cui ad summam auctoritatem
5 nihil praeter sanam civium mentem defuit, restiterat. ut
vero praesidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi
superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum
6 servitutem exempla referens, primo, ne reciperetur prae-
sidium, palam vociferatus est, deinde, ut receptum aut
eiceretur aut, si malum facinus, quod a vetustissimis
sociis consanguineisque defecissent, forti ac memorabili
facinore purgare vellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio
7 restituerent se Romanis. haec—nec enim occulta age-
bantur—cum relata Hannibali essent, primo misit,
qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde, cum is
ferociter negasset se iturum, nec enim Hannibali ius esse
in civem Campanum, concitatus ira Poenus conprehendi

hominem vinctumque adtrahi ad sese iussit. veritus 8
deinde, ne quid inter vim tumultus atque ex concitatione
animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse, praemisso
nuntio ad Marium Blossium praetorem Campanum pos-
tero die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur e castris cum
modico praesidio. Marius contione advocata edicit, ut 9
frequentes cum coniugibus ac liberis obviam irent Han-
nibali. ab universis id non oboedienter modo sed enixe,
favore etiam volgi et studio visendi tot iam victoriis
clarum imperatorem, factum est. Decius Magius nec 10
obviam egressus est nec, quo timorem aliquem ex con-
scientia significare posset, privato se tenuit: in foro cum
filio clientibusque paucis otiose inambulavit trepidante
tota civitate ad excipiendum Poenum visendumque.
Hannibal ingressus urbem senatum extemplo postulat, 11
precantibusque inde primoribus Campanorum, ne quid
eo die seriae rei gereret diemque ut ipse adventu suo
festum laetus ac libens celebraret, quamquam praeceps
ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in principio negaret, 12
visenda urbe magnam partem diei consumpsit.

Deversatus est apud Ninnios Celeres, Sthenium **8**
Pacuviumque, inclutos nobilitate ac divitiis. eo Pacu- 2
vius Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, princeps factionis
eius, quae traxerat rem ad Poenos, filium iuvenem
adduxit, abstractum a Deci Magi latere, cum quo fero- 3
cissime pro Romana societate adversus Punicum foedus
steterat, nec eum aut inclinata in partem alteram civitas
aut patria maiestas sententia depulerat. huic tum pater 4
iuveni Hannibalem deprecando magis quam purgando
placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad
cenam eum cum patre vocari iussit, cui convivio nemi- 5
nem Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliumque
Tauream, insignem bello virum, adhibiturus erat. epulari 6

coeperunt de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut
militari disciplina esse, sed, ut in civitate atque etiam
domo diti ac luxuriosa, omnibus voluptatium inlecebris
7 instructum. unus nec dominorum invitatione nec ipsius
interdum Hannibalis Calavius filius perpelli ad potandum
potuit, ipse valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque
8 eius haud mirabilem perturbationem causante. solis
ferme occasu patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum
secutus filius, ubi in secretum—hortus erat posticis
9 aedium partibus—pervenerunt, 'Consilium' inquit 'ad-
fero, pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod
defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetrare ab Romanis, sed
in multo maiore dignitate et gratia esse possimus Cam-
10 pani, quam umquam fuimus.' cum mirabundus pater,
quidnam id esset consili, quaereret, toga reiecta ab
11 umero latus succinctum gladio nudat. 'Iam ego' inquit
'sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus. te id
prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur,
9 malles.' quae ubi vidit audivitque senex, velut si iam
2 agendis, quae audiebat, interesset, amens metu 'Per ego
te,' inquit 'fili, quaecumque iura liberos iungunt parenti-
bus, precor quaesoque, ne ante oculos patris facere et
3 pati omnia infanda velis. paucae horae sunt, intra quas
iurantes per quidquid deorum est, dextrae dextras iun-
gentes, fidem obstrinximus,—ut sacratas fide manus
4 digressi a conloquio extemplo in eum armaremus? ab
hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum
adhibitus es ab Hannibale,—ut eam ipsam mensam
cruentares hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio
5 meo potui placare, filium Hannibali non possum? sed
sit nihil sancti, non fides, non religio, non pietas;
audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere
6 ferunt. unus adgressurus es Hannibalem? quid illa

turba tot liberorum servorumque? quid in unum intenti
omnium oculi? quid tot dextrae? torpescent in amentia
illa? voltum ipsius Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus 7
sustinere nequeunt, quem horret populus Romanus, tu
sustinebis? ut alia auxilia desint: me ipsum ferire
corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Hannibalis sus-
tinebis? atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi trans- 8
figendusque est. sed hic te deterreri sine potius quam
illic vinci; valeant preces apud te meae, sicut pro te hodie
valuerunt.' lacrimantem inde iuvenem cernens medium 9
conplectitur atque osculo haerens non ante precibus
abstitit, quam pervicit, ut gladium poneret fidemque
daret nihil facturum tale. tum iuvenis 'Ego quidem' 10
inquit 'quam patriae debeo pietatem, exsolvam patri.
tuam doleo vicem, cui ter proditae patriae sustinendum
est crimen, semel, cum defectionis ab Romanis, iterum, 11
cum pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertio hodie, cum
restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedimentum
es. tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus hanc arcem hos- 12
tium inii, quoniam parens extorquet, recipe.' haec cum 13
dixisset, gladium in publicum trans maceriam horti abiecit
et, quo minus res suspecta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali. ubi **10**
prima eius oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias
egit Campanis, quod amicitiam suam Romanae societati
praeposuissent, et inter cetera magnifica promissa pollici- 2
tus brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde
cum ceteris populis Romanum etiam petiturum. unum 3
esse exsortem Punicae amicitiae foederisque secum facti,
quem neque esse Campanum neque dici debere, Magium
Decium; eum postulare, ut sibi dedatur ac se praesente
de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat. omnes in 4
eam sententiam ierunt, quamquam magnae parti et

vir indignus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio minui
5 videbatur ius libertatis. egressus curia in templo magis-
tratuum consedit conprehendique Decium Magium atque
6 ante pedes destitutum causam dicere iussit. qui cum
manente ferocia animi negaret lege foederis id cogi
posse, tum iniectae catenae, ducique ante lictorem in
7 castra est iussus. quoad capite aperto est ductus,
contionabundus incessit ad circumfusam undique multi-
tudinem vociferans: ‘Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam
petistis; foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis nulli
8 Campanorum secundus vinctus ad mortem rapior. quid
violentius capta Capua fieret? ite obviam Hannibali,
exornate urbem diemque adventus eius consecrate, ut
9 hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis.’ haec vocifer-
ante cum moveri volgus videretur, obvolutum caput est,
ociusque rapi extra portam iussus. ita in castra perdu-
citur; extemploque inpositus in navem et Carthaginem
10 missus, ne motu aliquo Capuae ex indignitate rei orto
senatum quoque paeniteret dediti principis et, legatione
missa ad repetendum eum, aut negando rem, quam
primam peterent, offendendi sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo
habendus Capuae esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor.
11 navem Cyrenas detulit tempestas, quae tum in dicione
regum erant. ibi cum Magius ad statuam Ptolomaei
regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus Alexandream
12 ad Ptolomaeum, cum eum docuisset contra ius foederis
vinctum se ab Hannibale esse, vinclis liberatur, permis-
sumque, ut rediret, seu Romam seu Capuam mallet.
13 nec Magius Capuam sibi tutam dicere et Romam eo
tempore, quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit,
transfugae magis quam hospitis fore domicilium; nus-
quam malle quam in regno eius vivere, quem vindicem
atque auctorem habeat libertatis.

Dum haec geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a 11
Delphis Romam rediit responsumque ex scripto recitavit. divi divaeque in eo erant, quibus quoque modo
supplicaretur; tum 'Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestrae res 2
meliores facilioresque erunt, magisque ex sententia res publica vestra vobis procedet, victoriaque duelli populi
Romani erit. Pythio Apollini re publica vestra bene 3
gesta servataque de lucris meritis donum mittitote deque praeda, manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciviam
a vobis prohibetote.' haec ubi ex Graeco carmine inter- 4
pretata recitavit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum extemplo eis omnibus divis rem divinam ture ac vino fecisse;
iussumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea 5
corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante deponere eam,
quam Romam pervenisset, se, quaecumque imperata sint, 6
cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in ara Apollinis deposuisse. senatus decrevit, ut eae res divinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.

Dum haec Romae atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius 7
victoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamilcaris filius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus, sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus Bruttiorum, quae
deficiebant. is, cum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas 8
in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equitum fuerint, cum sex consularibus exercitibus acie
conflixisse; occidisse supra ducenta milia hostium, supra 9
quinquaginta cepisse; ex quattuor consulibus duos occidisse, ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum toto amisso exercitu vix cum quinquaginta hominibus effugisse;
magistrum equitum, quae consularis potestas sit, fusum 10

fugatum; dictatorem, quia se in aciem numquam com-
11 miserit, unicum haberi imperatorem; Bruttios Apulosque,
partem Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Poenos;
Capuam, quod caput non Campaniae modo sed post
adflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit,
12 Hannibali se tradidisse. pro his tantis totque victoriis
12 verum esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique. ad
fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in vestibulo
curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit, ut
metientibus supra tris modios explesse sint quidam
2 auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus
fuisse modio. adiecit deinde verbis, quo maioris cladis
indicium esset, neminem nisi equites, atque eorum ip-
3 sorum primores, id gerere insigne. summa fuit orationis,
quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni
ope iuvandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo
4 militiam esse, in media hostium terra; magnam vim
frumenti et pecuniae absumi, et tot acies ut hostium
exercitus delesse ita victoris etiam copias parte aliqua
5 minuisse: mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mitten-
dam in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene
meritis de nomine Punico militibus.
6 Secundum haec dicta Magonis laetis omnibus Himilco,
vir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse
ratus, 'Quid est, Hanno?' inquit 'etiam nunc paenitet
belli suscepti adversus Romanos? iube dedi Hannibalem;
7 veta in tam prosperis rebus grates deis immortalibus agi;
audiamus Romanum senatorem in Carthaginiensium
8 curia.' tum Hanno: 'Tacuissem hodie, patres con-
scripti, ne quid in communi omnium gaudio, minus
9 laetum quod esset vobis, loquerer; nunc interroganti
senatori, paeniteatne adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos
belli, si reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar,

quorum alterum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae. respondeo' inquit 'Himilconi, non de- 10
sisse paenitere me belli neque desiturum ante invictum vestrum imperatorem incusare, quam finitum aliqua tolerabili condicione bellum videro; nec mihi pacis antiquae desiderium ulla alia res quam pax nova finiet. itaque ista, quae modo Mago iactavit, Himilconi ceteris- 11
que Hannibalis satellitibus iam laetae sint: mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello bene gestae, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis aequiorem dabunt; nam si praeter- 12
mittimus hoc tempus, quo magis dare quam accipere possumus videri pacem, vereor, ne haec quoque laetitia luxuriet nobis ac vana evadat. quae tamen nunc quoque 13
qualis est? occidi exercitus hostium—mittite milites mihi. quid aliud rogares, si esses victus? hostium cepi 14
bina castra, praedae videlicet plena et commeatuum,—frumentum et pecuniam date. quid aliud, si spoliatus, 15
si exutus castris esses, peteres? et ne omnia ipse mirer, —mihi quoque enim, quoniam respondi Himilconi, interrogare ius fasque est—velim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, cum ad internecionem Romani imperi pugnatum ad Cannas sit constetque in defectione totam Italiam esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus 16
defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit?' cum 17
utrumque Mago negasset, 'Hostium quidem ergo' inquit 'adhuc nimis multum superest. sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat, scire velim.' cum id **13**
nescire Mago diceret, 'Nihil facilius scitu est' inquit. 'ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse adlatum ad vos est?' cum id quoque negasset, 2
'Bellum igitur' inquit 'tam integrum habemus, quam

habuimus, qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus.
3 quam varia victoria priore Punico bello fuerit, plerique,
qui meminerimus, supersumus. numquam terra marique
magis prosperae res nostrae visae sunt, quam ante con-
4 sules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt: Lutatio et
Postumio consulibus devicti ad Aegatis insulas sumus.
quod si, id quod di omen avertant, nunc quoque fortuna
aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis, cum vincemur,
5 quam nunc, cum vincimus, dat nemo? ego, si quis de
pace consulet seu ferenda hostibus seu accipienda, habeo,
quid sententiae dicam; si de eis, quae Mago postulat,
refertis, nec victoribus mitti attinere puto et frustrantibus
nos falsa atque inani spe multo minus censeo mittenda
6 esse.' haud multos movit Hannonis oratio; nam et
simultas cum familia Barcina leviorem auctorem faciebat,
et occupati animi praesenti laetitia nihil, quo vanius
fieret gaudium suum, auribus admittebant, debellatumque
7 mox fore, si adniti paulum voluissent, rebantur. itaque
ingenti consensu fit senatus consultum, ut Hannibali
quattuor milia Numidarum in supplementum mitterentur
8 et quadraginta elephanti et argenti talenta * dictatorque
cum Magone in Hispaniam praemissus est ad condu-
cenda viginti milia peditum, quattuor equitum, quibus
exercitus, qui in Italia quique in Hispania erant, sup-
plerentur.

14 Ceterum haec, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque
gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam animis for-
tuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. nam nec consul ulli
2 rei, quae per eum agenda esset, deerat, et dictator
M. Iunius Pera rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet,
ad populum, ut equom escendere liceret, praeter duas
urbanas legiones, quae principio anni a consulibus con-
scriptae fuerant, et servorum dilectum cohortesque ex

agro Piceno et Gallico collectas ad ultimum prope
desperatae rei publicae auxilium, cum honesta utilibus 3
cedunt, descendit edixitque, qui capitalem fraudem ausi
quique pecuniae iudicati in vinculis essent, qui eorum
apud se milites fierent, eos noxa pecuniaque sese exsolvi
iussurum. ea sex milia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae 4
triumpho C. Flamini tralata erant, armavit, itaque cum
viginti quinque milibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

Hannibal Capua recepta cum iterum Neapolitanorum 5
animos partim spe partim metu nequiquam temptasset,
in agrum Nolanum exercitum traducit, ut non hostiliter 6
statim, quia non desperabat voluntariam deditionem, ita,
si morarentur spem, nihil eorum, quae pati aut timere
possent, praetermissurus. senatus, ac maxime primores 7
eius, in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs
novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse
metumque agrorum populationis et patienda in obsidione
multa gravia indignaque proponere animo. neque auc-
tores defectionis deerant. itaque ubi senatum metus 8
cepit, si propalam tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatae
non posse, secunda simulando dilationem mali inveniunt.
placere enim sibi defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; 9
quibus autem condicionibus in foedus amicitiamque
novam transeant, parum constare. ita spatio sumpto 10
legatos propere ad praetorem Romanum Marcellum
Claudium, qui Casilini cum exercitu erat, mittunt do-
centque, quanto in discrimine sit Nolana res: agrum
Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo futuram,
ni subveniatur; concedendo plebei senatum, ubi velint, 11
defecturos se, ne deficere praefestinarent, effecisse. Mar- 12
cellus conlaudatis Nolanis eadem simulatione extrahi rem
in suum adventum iussit, interim celari, quae secum acta
essent, spemque omnem auxili Romani. ipse a Casilino 13

Caiatiam petit atque inde Volturno amni traiecto per
agrum Saticulanum Trebulanumque super Suessulam per
montis Nolam pervenit.

15 Sub adventum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano
excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus
maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo cursus navibus tutus ex
2 Africa esset. ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto
Romano teneri accepit—M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab
ipsis Neapolitanis accitus—, Neapoli quoque sicut Nola
3 omissa petit Nuceriam. eam cum aliquamdiu circum-
sedisset, saepe vi saepe sollicitandis nequiquam nunc
plebe nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem
accepit, pactus, ut inermes cum singulis abirent vesti-
4 mentis. deinde, ut qui a principio mitis omnibus Italicis
praeter Romanos videri vellet, praemia atque honores,
qui remanserint ac militare secum voluissent, proposuit.
5 nec ea spe quemquam tenuit: dilapsi omnes, quo
quemque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per
6 Campaniae urbes, maxime Nolam Neapolimque. cum
ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam
petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent,
Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriae praeda militi data est,
urbs direpta atque incensa.

7 Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidi
quam voluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur,
et ante omnis L. Bantius, quem conscientia temptatae
defectionis ac metus a praetore Romano nunc ad pro-
ditionem patriae, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad
8 transfugiendum stimulabat. erat iuvenis acer et socio-
rum ea tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. seminecem
eum ad Cannas in acervo caesorum corporum inventum
curatumque benigne etiam cum donis Hannibal domum
9 remiserat. ob eius gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ius

dicionemque dare voluerat Poeno, anxiumque eum et
sollicitum cura novandi res praetor cernebat. ceterum 10
cum aut poena cohibendus esset aut beneficio concili-
andus, sibi adsumpsisse quam hosti ademisse fortem ac
strenuum maluit socium, accitumque ad se benigne
appellat: multos eum invidos inter popularis habere 11
inde existimatu facile esse, quod nemo civis Nolanus
sibi indicaverit, quam multa eius egregia facinora mili-
taria essent; sed qui in Romanis militaverit castris, non 12
posse obscuram eius virtutem esse. multos sibi, qui
cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre, qui vir esset ille,
quaeque et quotiens pericula pro salute ac dignitate
populi Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non 13
prius pugna abstiterit, quam prope exsanguis ruina super-
incidentium virorum, equorum armorumque sit oppressus.
'itaque macte virtute esto,' inquit 'apud me tibi omnis 14
honos atque omne praemium erit et quo frequentior
mecum fueris, senties eam rem tib dignitati atque 15
emolumento esse,' laetoque iuveni promissis equom
eximium dono dat, bigatosque quingentos quaestorem
numerare iubet; lictoribus imperat, ut eum se adire,
quotiens velit, patiantur. hac comitate Marcelli ferocis 16
iuvenis animus adeo est mollitus, ut nemò inde sociorum
rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuverit.

Cum Hannibal ad portas esset—Nolam enim rursus 2
a Nuceria movit castra—plebesque Nolana de integro ad
defectionem spectaret, Marcellus sub adventum hostium 3
intra muros se recepit, non castris metuens, sed ne
prodendae urbis occasionem nimis multis in eam in-
minentibus daret. instrui deinde utrimque acies coeptae, 4
Romanorum pro moenibus Nolae, Poenorum ante castra
sua. proelia hinc parva inter urbem castraque et vario
eventu fiebant, quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere

procursantis nec dare signum universae pugnae volebant.
5 in hac cotidiana iam duorum exercituum statione prin-
6 cipes Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello nocturna conloquia
inter plebem ac Poenos fieri statutumque esse, ut, cum
Romana acies egressa portis staret, inpedimenta eorum
ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque
occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis Poenum
7 inde pro Romano acciperent. haec ubi nuntiata Mar-
cello sunt, conlaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam
aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam pugnae experiri
8 statuit. ad tris portas in hostis versas tripertito exer-
citum instruxit; inpedimenta subsequi iussit, calones
lixasque et invalidos milites vallum ferre. media porta
robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis
novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites
9 statuit. Nolani muros portasque adire vetiti, subsidiaque
destinata inpedimentis data, ne occupatis proelio legioni-
bus in ea impetus fieret. ita instructi intra portas stabant.
10 Hannibali sub signis, id quod per aliquot dies fecerat,
ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse, quod
nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus
11 quisquam in muris esset; ratus deinde prodita conloquia
esse metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra
remittit iussos propere adparatum omnem oppugnandae
urbis in primam aciem adferre, satis fidens, si cunctanti-
bus instaret, tumultum aliquem in urbe plebem moturam.
12 dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidant ad
prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente
porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites
primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu,
13 in hostem erumpere iubet. satis terroris tumultusque in
aciem mediam intulerant, cum duabus circa portis P. Va-
lerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium

erupere. addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia 14
turba custodiae inpedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem
maxime spernentibus Poenis ingentis repente exercitus
speciem fecerit. vix equidem ausim adfirmare, quod 15
quidam auctores sunt, duo milia et octingentos hostium
caesos non plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed 16
sive tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac
nescio an maxima illo bello gesta est: non vinci enim ab
Hannibale tunc difficilius fuit quam postea vincere.

Hannibal spe potiundae Nolae adempta cum Acerras **17**
recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibus-
que dispositis, ne quis egrederetur, quaestionem in foro
de eis, qui clam in conloquiis hostium fuerant, habuit;
supra septuaginta damnatos proditionis securi percussit, 2
bonaque eorum iussit publica populi Romani esse, et 3
summa rerum senatui tradita cum exercitu omni pro-
fectus supra Suessulam castris positis consedit. Poenus 4
Acerras primum ad voluntariam deditionem conatus
perlicere, postquam obstinatos in fide videt, obsidere
atque oppugnare parat. ceterum Acerranis plus animi 5
quam virium erat: itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut
circumvallari moenia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur
hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neclectasque
custodias silentio noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque, qua 6
quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Cam-
paniae, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem,
perfugerunt.

Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis cum a 7
Casilino dictatorem Romanum legionesque laetis animis
accipi nuntiassent, ne quis tumultus tam propinquis
hostium castris Capuae quoque oreretur, exercitum ad
Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Prae- 8
nestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis,

9 quos eodem audita Cannensis clades contulerat. hi non
confecto Praeneste ad diem dilectu serius profecti domo
cum Casilinum ante famam adversae pugnae venissent
et, aliis adgregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti
a Casilino cum satis magno agmine irent, avertit eos
10 retro Casilinum nuntius Cannensis pugnae. ibi cum
dies aliquot suspecti Campanis timentesque cavendis ac
struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae
defectione agi accipique Hannibalem satis pro certo
habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis partem urbis, quae
cis Volturnum est—eo enim dividitur amni—, occupa-
11 vere; idque praesidi Casilini habebant Romani. additur
et Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta,
eodem nuntio, quo Praenestini paucos ante dies, Casi-
12 linum conpulsi. et satis ferme armatorum ad tam
exigua moenia et flumine altera parte cincta tuenda erat;
penuria frumenti, nimium etiam ut videretur hominum,
efficiebat.

18 Hannibal cum iam inde haud procul esset, Gaetulos
cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac primo, si fiat
conloqui copia, verbis benignis ad portas aperiundas
praesidiumque accipiendum perlicere iubet, si in per-
tinacia perstent, vi rem gerere ac temptare, si qua parte
2 invadere urbem possit. ubi ad moenia adcessere, quia
silentium erat, solitudo visa; metuque concessum bar-
barus ratus moliri portas et claustra refringere parat,
3 cum patefactis repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum
instructae intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt stragem-
4 que hostium faciunt. ita primis repulsis Maharbal cum
maiore robore virorum missus nec ipse eruptionem
5 cohortium sustinuit. postremo Hannibal castris ante ipsa
moenia oppositis parvam urbem parvomque praesidium
summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum

instat lacessitque, corona undique circumdatis moenibus,
aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turri-
busque ictos amisit. semel ultro erumpentis agmine 6
elephantorum opposito prope interclusit trepidosque
conpulit in urbem satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate
interfectis. plures cecidissent, ni nox proelio interve-
nisset. postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum 7
accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis
proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi
segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus expro-
brabat, Cannarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos
admonens universosque. inde vineae quoque coeptae 8
agi cuniculique. nec ad varios conatus hostium aut vis
ulla aut ars deerat ab sociis Romanorum: propugnacula 9
adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium
cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obviam ire,
donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit, cas-
trisque communitis ac praesidio modico inposito, ne
omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.

Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis habuit, 10
adversus omnia humana mala saepe ac diu duratum,
bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. itaque, quos nulla 11
mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates
inmodicae, et eo inpensius, quo avidius ex insolentia in
eas se merserant. somnus enim et vinum et epulae et 12
scorta balineaque et otium consuetudine in dies blandius
ita enervaverunt corpora animosque, ut magis deinde
praeteritae victoriae eos quam praesentes tutarentur vires,
maiusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium mili- 13
tarium haberetur, quam quod non ex Cannensi acie
protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset; illa enim cunc-
tatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error
vires ademisse ad vincendum. itaque hercule, velut si 14

cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam pristinae
15 disciplinae tenuit. nam et redierunt plerique scortis
inpliciti, et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi coepti sunt,
viaque et alius militaris labor excepit, tironum modo
16 corporibus animisque deficiebant, et deinde per omne
aestivorum tempus magna pars sine commeatibus ab
signis dilabebantur, neque aliae latebrae quam Capua
desertoribus erant.

19 Ceterum mitescente iam hieme educto ex hibernis
2 milite Casilinum redit, ubi, quamquam ab oppugnatione
cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua oppidanos praesi-
3 diumque ad ultimum inopiae adduxerat. castris Romanis
Ti. Sempronius praeerat dictatore auspiciorum repeten-
4 dorum causa profecto Romam. Marcellum et ipsum
cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Volturnus amnis
inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum Acerranorumque
tenebant Campanos timentium, si praesidium Romanum
5 abscessisset. Gracchus adsidens tantum Casilino, quia
praedictum erat dictatoris, ne quid absente eo rei gereret,
nihil movebat, quamquam, quae facile omnem patientiam
6 vincerent, nuntiabantur a Casilino: nam et praecipitasse
se quosdam non tolerantis famem constabat, et stare
inermis in muris nuda corpora ad missilium telorum
7 ictus praebentis. ea aegre patiens Gracchus, cum neque
pugnam conserere dictatoris iniussu auderet—pugnandum
autem esse, si palam frumentum inportaret, videbat—
8 neque clam inportandi spes esset, farre ex agris circa
undique convecto cum conplura dolia conplesset, nun-
tium ad magistratum Casilinum misit, ut exciperent dolia,
9 quae amnis deferret. insequenti nocte intentis omnibus
in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam dolia medio
missa amni defluxerunt; aequaliterque inter omnis fru-
10 mentum divisum. id postero quoque die ac tertio factum

est; nocte et mittebantur et perveniebant; eo custodias
hostium fallebant. imbribus deinde continuis citatior 11
solito amnis transverso vertice dolia inpulit ad ripam,
quam hostes servabant. ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis
salicta conspiciuntur, nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et
deinde intentiore custodia cautum, ne quid falleret Vol-
turno ad urbem missum. nuces tamen fusae ab Romanis 12
castris, cum medio amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus
excipiebantur. postremo ad id ventum inopiae est, ut 13
lora detractasque scutis pellis, ubi fervida mollissent
aqua, mandere conarentur nec muribus aliove animali
abstinerent et omne herbarum radicumque genus aggeri-
bus infimis muri eruerent. et cum hostes obarassent, 14
quidquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum
semen iniecerunt, ut Hannibal 'Eone usque, dum ea
nascantur, ad Casilinum sessurus sum?' exclamaret; et 15
qui nullam antea pactionem auribus admiserat, tum
demum agi secum est passus de redemptione liberorum
capitum. septunces auri in singulos pretium convenit. 16
fide accepta tradiderunt sese. donec omne aurum per-
solutum est, in vinculis habiti; tum emissi summa cum
fide. id verius est quam ab equite in abeuntis inmisso 17
interfectos. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. ex quin-
gentis septuaginta, qui in praesidio fuerunt, minus
dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit; ceteri incolumes
Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio—scriba is antea
fuerat—redierunt. statua eius indicio fuit Praeneste in 18
foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, cum
titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus,
qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint, votum solvisse. idem
titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subiectus.
Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum **20**
septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio,

ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent.
2 Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipen-
dium et quinquenni militiae vacationem decrevit; civitate
3 cum donarentur ob virtutem, non mutaverunt. Perusi-
norum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum
monumento ullo est inlustratus nec decreto Roma-
norum.

4 Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttiis
manserant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses
modo, qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque
5 ceteri ob separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. quibus
cum obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam
ad praesidium petendum miserunt. quorum preces
lacrimaeque—in questus enim flebiles, cum sibimet ipsi
consulere iussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiae profuderunt
—ingentem misericordiam patribus ac populo moverunt.
6 consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres circum-
spectis omnibus imperi viribus fateri coacti, nihil iam
longinquis sociis in se praesidi esse, redire domum
fideque ad ultimum expleta consulere sibimet ipsos in
7 reliquom pro praesenti fortuna iusserunt. haec postquam
renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror
pavorque senatum eorum cepit, ut pars profugiendi, qua
8 quisque posset, ac deserendae urbis auctores essent, pars,
quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se
9 ceteris Bruttiis ac per eos dedendi Hannibali. vicit
tamen ea pars, quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum
10 consulendumque de integro censuit. relata postero die
per minorem trepidationem re tenuerunt optimates, ut
convectis omnibus ex agris urbem ac muros firmarent.

21 Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia Sardiniaque
2 Romam allatae. priores ex Sicilia T. Otacili propraetoris
in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem cum classe

ex Africa Lilybaeum venisse; ipsum graviter saucium in
discrimine ultimo vitae esse; militi ac navalibus sociis
neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari neque,
unde detur, esse; magnopere suadere, ut quam primum 3
ea mittantur, sibique, si ita videatur, ex novis praetoribus
successorem mittant. eademque ferme de stipendio fru- 4
mentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore ex
Sardinia scripta. responsum utrique, non esse, unde
mitteretur, iussique ipsi classibus atque exercitibus suis
consulere. T. Otacilius ad unicum subsidium populi 5
Romani, Hieronem, legatos cum misisset, in stipendium
quantum argenti opus fuit et sex mensum frumentum
accepit; Cornelio in Sardinia civitates sociae benigne 6
contulerunt. et Romae quoque propter penuriam ar-
genti triumviri mensarii rogatione M. Minuci tribuni
plebis facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque
fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et
L. Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. et 7
duumviri creati M. et C. Atilii aedem Concordiae, quam
L. Manlius praetor voverat, dedicaverunt; et tres ponti-
fices creati, Q. Caecilius Metellus et Q. Fabius Maximus
et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantini demortui et
L. Aemili Pauli consulis et Q. Aeli Paeti, qui ceciderant
pugna Cannensi.

Cum cetera, quae continuis cladibus fortuna minu- **22**
erat, quantum consiliis humanis adsequi poterant, patres
explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae 2
paucitatemque convenientium ad publicum consilium
respexerunt. neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Fla- 3
minium censores senatus lectus fuerat, cum tantum
senatorum adversae pugnae, ad hoc sui quemque casus
per quinquennium absumpsissent. cum de ea re 4
M. Aemilius praetor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum

profecto tandem ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis
rettulisset, tum Sp. Carvilius, cum longa oratione non
solum inopiam patrum sed paucitatem etiam civium, ex
5 quibus in patres legerentur, conquestus esset, explendi
senatus causa et iungendi artius Latini nominis cum
populo Romano magnopere se suadere dixit, ut ex
singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, quibus
patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur atque ei in
6 demortuorum locum in senatum legerentur. eam senten-
tiam haud aequioribus animis quam ipsorum quondam
7 postulatum Latinorum patres audierunt; et cum fremitus
indignantium tota curia esset, et praecipue T. Manlius
esse etiam nunc eius stirpis virum diceret, ex qua quon-
dam in Capitolio consul minatus esset, quem Latinum in
8 curia vidisset, eum sua manu se interfecturum, Q. Fabius
Maximus numquam rei ullius alieniore tempore men-
tionem factam in senatu dicit, quam inter tam suspensos
sociorum animos incertamque fidem id iactum, quod
9 insuper sollicitaret eos. eam unius hominis temerariam
vocem silentio omnium extinguendam esse et, si quid
umquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit, id
omnium maxime tegendum, occulendum, obliviscendum,
pro indicto habendum esse. ita eius rei oppressa mentio
10 est. dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissimusque
ex eis, qui viverent, censoriis esset, creari placuit, qui
senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium consulem ad
11 dictatorem dicendum iusserunt. qui ex Apulia relicto
ibi praesidio cum magnis itineribus Romam redisset,
nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M. Fabium Buteonem ex
senatus consulto sine magistro equitum dictatorem in
23 sex mensis dixit. is ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escen-
dit, neque duos dictatores tempore uno, quod numquam
2 antea factum esset, probare se dixit, neque dictatorem

sine magistro equitum, nec censoriam vim uni permissam
et eidem iterum, nec dictatori nisi rei gerendae causa
creato in sex mensis datum imperium. quae inmoderata 3
fors, tempus ac necessitas fecerit, eis se modum imposi-
turum: nam neque senatu quemquam moturum ex eis,
quos C. Flaminius L. Aemilius censores in senatum
legissent; transcribi tantum recitarique eos iussurum, ne 4
penes unum hominem iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac
moribus senatoris fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum
sublecturum, ut ordo ordini, non homo homini praelatus
videretur. recitato vetere senatu inde primos in demor- 5
tuorum locum legit, qui post L. Aemilium C. Flaminium
censores curulem magistratum cepissent necdum in
senatum lecti essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus
erat; tum legit, qui aediles, tribuni plebis quaestoresve 6
fuerant; tum ex eis, qui minores magistratus cepissent,
qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut civicam coro-
nam accepissent. ita centum septuaginta septem cum 7
ingenti adprobatione hominum in senatum lectis extemplo
se magistratu abdicavit privatusque de rostris descendit
lictoribus abire iussis, turbaeque se inmiscuit privatas
agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi 8
sui causa populum de foro abduceret: neque tamen elan-
guit cura hominum ea mora, frequentesque eum domum
deduxerunt. consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum redit 9
non facto certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe
retineretur.

Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore sena- **24**
tus decrevit dictatori scribendum, uti, si e re publica
censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret cum
magistro equitum et praetore M. Marcello, ut ex eis 2
praesentibus noscere patres possent, quo statu res pub-
lica esset, consiliaque ex rebus caperent. qui acciti

erant, omnes venerunt relictis legatis, qui legionibus
3 praeessent. dictator de se pauca ac modice locutus in
magistrum equitum Ti. Sempronium Gracchum magnam
partem gloriae vertit, comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Pos-
tumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam provinciam
obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magis-
ter equitum et aedilis curulis erat, consules creantur.
4 praetores inde creati M. Valerius Laevinus iterum, Ap.
Claudius Pulcher, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scae-
5 vola. dictator creatis magistratibus Teanum in hiberna
ad exercitum redit relicto magistro equitum Romae, qui,
cum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de
exercitibus scribendis conparandisque in annum patres
consuleret.

6 Cum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata,
aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna,
L. Postumium consulem designatum in Gallia ipsum
7 atque exercitum deletos. silva erat vasta—Litanam Galli
vocabant—, qua exercitum traducturus erat. eius silvae
dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt,
ut inmotae starent, momento levi inpulsae occiderent.
8 legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius sociumque
ab supero mari tantum conscripserat, ut viginti quinque
9 milia armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram
extremae silvae cum circumsedissent, ubi intravit agmen
saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt.
quae alia in aliam instabilem per se ac male haerentem
incidentes ancipiti strage arma viros equos obruerunt, ut
10 vix decem homines effugerent. nam cum exanimati
plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum,
ceteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli sal-
tum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt, paucis
e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes,

obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte, interclusi sunt. ibi 11
Postumius omni vi, ne caperetur, dimicans occubuit.
spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boi ovantes
templo, quod sanctissimum est apud eos, intulere. pur- 12
gato inde capite, ut mos eis est, calvam auro caelavere,
idque sacrum vas eis erat, quo sollemnibus libarent,
poculumque idem sacerdotibus ac templi antistitibus.
praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam victoria fuit; 13
nam etsi magna pars animalium strage silvae oppressa
erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est,
stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inventae
sunt.

Hac nuntiata clade cum per dies multos in tanto **25**
pavore fuisset civitas, ut tabernis clausis velut nocturna
solitudine per urbem facta senatus aedilibus negotium
daret, ut urbem circumirent aperirique tabernas et 2
maestitiae publicae speciem urbi demi iuberent, tum
Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit consolatusque patres est
et adhortatus, ne, qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuis- 3
sent, ad minores calamitates animos summitterent. quod 4
ad Carthaginienses hostis Hannibalemque attineret, pros-
pera modo essent, sicut speraret futura; Gallicum bellum
et omitti tuto et differri posse, ultionemque eam fraudis
in deorum ac populi Romani potestate fore. de hoste
Poeno exercitibusque, per quos id bellum gereretur,
consultandum atque agitandum. ipse primum, quid 5
peditum equitumque, quid civium, quid sociorum in
exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit; tum Marcellus sua-
rum copiarum summam exposuit; quid in Apulia cum 6
C. Terentio consule esset, a peritis quaesitum est. nec,
unde duo consulares exercitus satis firmi ad tantum
bellum efficerentur, inibatur ratio. itaque Galliam,
quamquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit.

7 exercitus dictatoris consuli decretus est. de exercitu
M. Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in
Siciliam eos traduci atque ibi militare, donec in Italia
8 bellum esset, placuit; eodem ex dictatoris legionibus
reici militem minimi quemque roboris, nullo praestituto
militiae tempore, nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum
9 esset. duae legiones urbanae alteri consuli, qui in locum
L. Postumi suffectus esset, decretae sunt, eumque, cum
10 primum salvis auspiciis posset, creari placuit; legiones
praeterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri,
atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbanae evenissent,
11 militum sumere quantum opus esset; C. Terentio con-
suli prorogari in annum imperium, neque de eo exercitu,
quem ad praesidium Apuliae haberet, quicquam minui.

26 Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo
segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam diem magis
2 prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se
partitis copias, ut Gnaeus terra, Publius navibus rem
gereret, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator, neutri parti
virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis
tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quat-
tuor milia peditum, mille equites in supplementum missi
3 ex Africa sunt. tum refecta tandem spe castra propius
hostem movit, classemque et ipse instrui pararique iubet
4 ad insulas maritumamque oram tutandam. in ipso
impetu movendarum de integro rerum perculit eum
praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad
Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter increpiti num-
quam deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium
5 rebus fuerant. fecerant hi transfugae motum in Tar-
tesiorum gente, desciverantque eis auctoribus urbes
6 aliquot, una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat. in eam
gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque ex-

ercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captae
ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbum, nobilem
Tartesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenen-
tem adgredi statuit. praemissa igitur levi armatura, quae 7
eliceret hostis ad certamen, equitum partem ad popu-
landum per agros passim dimisit, et ut palantis exciperent.
simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et 8
caedes; deinde undique diversis itineribus cum in castra
se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor, ut
non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum
esset, sed etiam ad lacessendum proelio hostem. erum- 9
punt igitur agmine e castris tripudiantes more suo,
repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante
ultro lacessenti incussit. itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in 10
collem satis arduum, flumine etiam obiecto tutum, copias
subducit et praemissam levem armaturam equitesque
palatos eodem recipit, nec aut colli aut flumini satis
fidens castra vallo permunit. in hoc alterno pavore 11
certamina aliquot sunt contracta; nec Numida Hispano
eques par fuit nec iaculator Maurus cetrato, velocitate
pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum praestanti.
postquam neque elicere Poenum ad certamen obversati **27**
castris poterant neque castrorum oppugnatio facilis erat,
urbem Ascuam, quo finis hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal 2
frumentum commeatusque alios convexerat, vi capiunt
omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine
aut in castris ullo imperio contineri. quam ubi negle- 3
gentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal,
cohortatus milites, ut palatos sine signis hostis adgre-
derentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad
castra. quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes 4
ex speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma conclamatum
est. ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, 5

incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. iam primi
conseruerant manus, cum alii catervatim currerent, alii
6 nondum e castris exissent. tamen primo ipsa audacia
terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos inlati, cum
paucitas parum tuta esset, respicere alii alios et undique
7 pulsi coire in orbem, et dum corpora corporibus applicant
armaque armis iungunt, in artum conpulsi, cum vix
movendis armis satis spati esset, corona hostium cincti
ad multum diei caeduntur; exigua pars eruptione facta
8 silvas ac montis petit. parique terrore et castra sunt
deserta et universa gens postero die in deditionem
venit.

9 Nec diu in pacto mansit; nam subinde ab Cartha-
gine allatum est, ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore
in Italiam exercitum duceret, quae volgata res per
Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit.
10 itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit
indicans, quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset;
si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum transiret,
11 Romanorum Hispaniam fore: nam praeterquam quod
nec praesidium nec ducem haberet, quem relinqueret
pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos, quibus vix aequis
12 viribus resisti possit; itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset,
successorem sibi cum valido exercitu mitterent; cui ut
omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam provin-
28 ciam fore. eae litterae quamquam primo admodum
moverunt senatum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior po-
tiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis eius
2 mutatum est; Himilco cum exercitu iusto et aucta classe
ad retinendam terra marique ac tuendam Hispaniam est
3 missus. qui ut pedestris navalisque copias traiecit, castris
communitis navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis,
cum equitibus delectis ipse quantum maxime adcelerare

poterat, per dubios infestosque populos iuxta intentus ad
Hasdrubalem pervenit. cum decreta senatus mandataque 4
exposuisset atque edoctus esset ipse in vicem, quem ad
modum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in
sua castra redit nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod
undique abierat, antequam consentirent. Hasdrubal, 5
priusquam moveret castra, pecunias imperat populis
omnibus suae dicionis, satis gnarus Hannibalem transi- 6
tus quosdam pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter
quam conducta habuisse; inopem tantum iter ingressum
vix penetraturum ad Alpis fuisse: pecuniis igitur raptim
exactis ad Hiberum descendit.

Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi 7
ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus ambo
duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque obsistere
parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando 8
Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exer-
citus esset iunctus, illum finem Romani imperi fore. his 9
anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et transito
amne cum diu consultassent, utrum castra castris con-
ferrent an satis haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppug-
nandis morari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a 10
propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam
ea tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant. quod 11
ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire
ipse ad urbem deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum
oppugnandam. ita iam coepta obsidio omissa ab Ro- 12
manis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum.
quinque milium intervallo castra distantia habuere **29**
paucos dies, nec sine levibus proeliis nec ut in aciem
exirent; tandem uno eodemque die velut ex composito 2
utrimque signum pugnae propositum est atque omnibus
copiis in campum descensum. triplex stetit Romana 3

acies: velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post
4 signa accepta; equites cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal me-
diam aciem Hispanis firmat; in cornibus dextro Poenos
locat, laevo Afros mercennariorumque auxilia; equitum
Numidas Poenorum peditibus, ceteros Afris pro cornibus
5 apponit. nec omnes Numidae in dextro locati cornu,
sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus
equos inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equom
ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat: tanta velocitas
6 ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est. cum hoc modo
instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis haud ferme
dispares spes erant; nam ne multum quidem aut numero
aut genere militum hi aut illi praestabant; militibus longe
7 dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quamquam procul
a patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces pro Italia
atque urbe Romana eos pugnare; itaque, velut quibus
reditus in patriam in eo discrimine pugnae verteretur,
8 obstinaverant animis vincere aut mori. minus pertinaces
viros habebat altera acies; nam maxima pars Hispani
erant, qui vinci in Hispania quam victores in Italiam
9 trahi malebant. primo igitur concursu, cum vix pila
coniecta essent, rettulit pedem media acies, inferenti-
10 busque se magno impetu Romanis vertit terga. nihilo
segnius in cornibus proelium fuit. hinc Poenus, hinc
Afer urguet, et velut in circumventos proelio ancipiti
11 pugnant; sed cum in medium tota iam coisset Romana
acies, satis virium ad dimovenda hostium cornua habuit.
12 ita duo diversa proelia erant. utroque Romani, ut qui
pulsis iam ante mediis et numero et robore virorum
13 praestarent, haud dubie superant. magna vis hominum
ibi occisa, et nisi Hispani vixdum conserto proelio tam
effuse fugissent, perpauci ex tota superfuissent acie.
14 equestris pugna nulla admodum fuit, quia, simul inclina-

tam mediam aciem Mauri Numidaeque videre, extemplo fuga effusa nuda cornua elephantis quoque prae se actis deseruere. Hasdrubal usque ad ultimum eventum pug- 15
nae moratus e media caede cum paucis effugit. castra 16
Romani cepere atque diripuere. ea pugna, si qua dubia in Hispania erant, Romanis adiunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne manendi quidem satis tuto in Hispania spes reliqua erat. quae 17
posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romae volgata sunt, non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttiis **30**
aliquot post mensibus, quam coepta oppugnari erat, ab Himilcone praefecto Hannibalis expugnata est. multo 2
sanguine ac volneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit, nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam fames expugnavit. absumptis 3
enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetae insuetaeque, postremo coriis herbisque et radicibus et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis vixere, nec 4
ante, quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma deerant, expugnati sunt. recepta Petelia Poenus ad 5
Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter defensam intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit. isdem 6
ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam urbem, circumsedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque, tum iam adeo multis magnisque cladibus adflictam, ut omnis aetatis minus duo milia civium superessent. ita- 7
que urbe a defensoribus vacua facile potiti hostes sunt; arx tantum retenta, in quam inter tumultum captae urbis e media caede quidam effugere. et Locrenses descivere 8
ad Bruttios Poenosque prodita multitudine a principibus. Regini tantummodo regionis eius et in fide erga Romanos 9
et potestatis suae ad ultimum manserunt. in Siciliam 10

quoque eadem inclinatio animorum pervenit, et ne domus
11 quidem Hieronis tota ab defectione abstinuit. namque
Gelo, maximus stirpis, contempta simul senectute patris
simul post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad
12 Poenos defecit, movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors
adeo opportuna, ut patrem quoque suspicione aspergeret,
armantem eum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios ab-
13 sumpsisset. haec eo anno in Italia, in Africa, in Sicilia,
in Hispania vario eventu acta.

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit,
ut aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator vovisset, dedi-
14 care liceret. senatus decrevit, ut Ti. Sempronius consul
designatus, cum honorem inisset, ad populum ferret, ut
Q. Fabium duumvirum esse iuberent aedis dedicandae
15 causa. et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui consul augurque
fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebris
per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in foro
16 dederunt. aediles curules C. Laetorius et Ti. Sempronius
Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister
equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos fecerunt, qui per triduum
17 instaurati sunt. plebei ludi aedilium M. Aureli Cottae
et M. Claudi Marcelli ter instaurati.

Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli Ti. Sempronius
18 consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. praetores Q. Ful-
vius Flaccus, qui antea bis consul censorque fuerat,
urbanam, M. Valerius Laevinus peregrinam sortem in
iuris dictione habuit; Ap. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam,
19 Q. Mucius Scaevola Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello
pro consule imperium esse populus iussit, quod post
Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in
Italia prospere rem gessisset.

31 Senatus, quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus,
2 decrevit, ut eo anno duplex tributum imperaretur, sim-

plex confestim exigeretur, ex quo stipendium praesens
omnibus militibus daretur, praeterquam qui milites ad
Cannas fuissent. de exercitibus ita decreverunt, ut 3
duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales
ad conveniendum diem ediceret; inde eae legiones in
castra Claudiana supra Suessulam deducerentur. quae 4
ibi legiones essent—erant autem Cannensis maxime
exercitus—, eas Appius Claudius Pulcher praetor in
Siciliam traiceret, quaeque in Sicilia essent, Romam
deportarentur. ad exercitum, cui ad conveniendum 5
Cales edicta dies erat, M. Claudius Marcellus missus,
isque iussus in castra Claudiana deducere urbanas
legiones. ad veterem exercitum accipiendum deducen- 6
dumque inde in Siciliam Ti. Maecilius Croto legatus ab
Ap. Claudio est missus.

Taciti primo expectaverant homines, uti consul 7
comitia collegae creando haberet; deinde, ubi ablega-
tum velut de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem
maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in praetura
res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in curia ortus. quod 8
ubi sensit consul, 'Utrumque' inquit 'e re publica fuit,
patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exer-
citus in Campaniam proficisci et comitia non prius edici,
quam is inde confecto, quod mandatum est, negotio
revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae
postularet, quem maxime voltis, haberetis.' ita de 9
comitiis, donec rediit Marcellus, silentium fuit. interea
duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius
Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius
Veneri Erycinae; utraque in Capitolio est, canali uno
discretae. et de trecentis equitibus Campanis, qui in 10
Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam venerant,
latum ad populum, ut cives Romani essent, item uti

municipes Cumani essent ex pridie, quam populus
11 Campanus a populo Romano defecisset. maxime, ut
hoc ferretur, moverat, quod, quorum hominum essent,
scire se ipsi negabant, vetere patria relicta in eam in
12 quam redierant nondum adsciti. postquam Marcellus
ab exercitu rediit, comitia consuli rogando in locum
13 L. Postumi edicuntur. creatur ingenti consensu Mar-
cellus, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. cui ineunti
consulatum cum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum
videri eum pronuntiaverunt; volgoque patres ita fama
ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebei consules facti
14 essent, id deis cordi non esse. in locum Marcelli, ubi
is se magistratu abdicavit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus
tertium.

15 Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinuessam bos eculeum
peperit; signa Lanuvii ad Iunonis Sospitae cruore
manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit. ob quem
imbrem novemdiale, ut adsolet, sacrum fuit, ceteraque
prodigia cum cura expiata.

32 Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt. Fabio exer-
citus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, evenit;
Sempronio volones, qui ibi erant, et sociorum viginti
2 quinque milia, M. Valerio praetori legiones, quae ex
Sicilia redissent, decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad
eum exercitum, qui supra Suessulam Nolae praesideret,
missus; praetores in Siciliam ac Sardiniam profecti.
3 consules edixerunt, quotiens in senatum vocassent, uti
senatores quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret
4 ad portam Capenam convenirent. praetores, quorum
iuris dictio erat, tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam po-
suerunt; eo vadimonia fieri iusserunt, ibique eo anno
ius dictum est.

5 Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis,

duodecim milia peditum et mille quingentos equites,
viginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam trans-
missurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta navium longarum,
nuntius adfertur in Hispania rem male gestam omnisque 6
ferme eius provinciae populos ad Romanos defecisse.
erant, qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque omissa 7
Italia in Hispaniam averterent, cum Sardiniae recipiendae
repentina spes adfulsit: parvom ibi exercitum Romanum 8
esse; veterem praetorem inde A. Cornelium provinciae
peritum decedere, novom expectari; ad hoc fessos iam 9
animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperi Romani, et
proximo eis anno acerbe atque avare imperatum, gravi
tributo et conlatione iniqua frumenti pressos; nihil
deesse aliud quam auctorem, ad quem deficerent. haec 10
clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime eam
rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque
opibus longe primus erat. his nuntiis prope uno tempore 11
turbati erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in
Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt 12
ducem et tantum ferme copiarum, quantum Magoni,
decernunt.

Et Romae consules transactis rebus, quae in urbe 13
agendae erant, movebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sem- 14
pronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum
edixit, et Q. Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta
omnes ex agris ante kal. Iunias primas in urbes munitas
conveherent; qui non invexisset, eius se agrum popu- 15
laturum, servos sub hasta venditurum, villas incensurum.
ne praetoribus quidem, qui ad ius dicendum creati erant,
vacatio a belli administratione data est. Valerium prae- 16
torem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio
accipiendum; cum ex Sicilia legiones venissent, eis potis-
simum uti ad regionis eius praesidium, Terentianum

17 exercitum Tarentum mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et
viginti quinque naves datae, quibus oram maritimam
18 inter Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. par navium
numerus Q. Fulvio praetori urbano decretus ad subur-
19 bana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium
datum, ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem militum haberet
20 locisque eis praesidio esset. et T. Otacilius Crassus, post-
quam aedem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam
cum imperio, qui classi praeesset, missus.

33 In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in
terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos inten-
2 derant, inter quos Philippus, Macedonum rex, eo magis,
quod propior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat.
3 is ubi primum fama accepit Hannibalem Alpis trans-
gressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto
laetatus erat, ita, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse,
4 incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. post-
quam tertia iam pugna victoria cum Poenis erat, ad
fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit;
qui vitantes portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque, quia
custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniae
5 Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt. inde per
Apuliam petentes Capuam media in praesidia Romana
inlati sunt deductique ad Valerium Laevinum praetorem
6 circa Luceriam castra habentem. ibi intrepide Xeno-
phanes legationis princeps a Philippo rege se missum
ait ad amicitiam societatemque iungendam cum populo
Romano; mandata habere ad consules ac senatum po-
7 pulumque Romanum. praetor inter defectiones veterum
sociorum nova societate tam clari regis laetus admodum
8 hostis pro hospitibus comiter accepit; dat, qui prose-
quantur; itinera cum cura demonstrat et quae loca
9 quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes teneant. Xeno-

phanes per praesidia Romana in Campaniam, inde, qua
proximum fuit, in castra Hannibalis pervenit foedusque
cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus his, ut Philippus 10
rex quam maxima classe—ducentas autem navis vide-
batur effecturus—in Italiam traiceret et vastaret mari-
timam oram, bellum pro parte sua terra marique gereret;
ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma 11
Carthaginiensium atque Hannibalis esset, praedaque
omnis Hannibali cederet; perdomita Italia navigarent in 12
Graeciam bellumque cum quibus regi placeret gererent;
quae civitates continentis quaeque insulae ad Macedoniam
vergunt, eae Philippi regnique eius essent.

In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem legatosque **34**
Macedonum ictum foedus; missique cum eis ad regis 2
ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago.
eodem ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi navis occulta in statione
erat, perveniunt. inde profecti cum altum tenerent, 3
conspecti a classe Romana sunt, quae praesidio erat
Calabriae litoribus; Valeriusque Flaccus cercuros ad 4
persequendam retrahendamque navem cum misisset,
primo fugere regii conati; deinde, ubi celeritate vinci
senserunt, tradunt se Romanis et ad praefectum classis
adducti sunt. is cum quaereret, qui et unde et quo 5
tenderent cursum, Xenophanes primo satis iam semel
felix mendacium struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos
missum ad M. Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum
fuerit, pervenisse, Campaniam superare nequisse saeptam
hostium praesidiis. deinde ut Punicus cultus habitusque 6
suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis interrogatosque sermo
prodidit, tum comitibus eorum seductis ac metu territis 7
litterae quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inventae et
pacta inter regem Macedonum Poenumque ducem. qui- 8
bus satis cognitis optimum visum est captivos comitesque

eorum Romam ad senatum aut ad consules, ubicumque
9 essent, quam primum deportare. ad id celerrimae quin-
que naves delectae ac L. Valerius Antias, qui praeesset,
missus, eique mandatum, ut in omnis navis legatos
separatim custodiendos divideret daretque operam, ne
quod eis conloquium inter se neve quae communicatio
consili esset.

10 Per idem tempus Romae cum A. Cornelius Mammula
ex Sardinia provincia decedens rettulisset, qui status rerum
in insula esset: bellum ac defectionem omnis spectare;
11 Q. Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gravitate caeli aqua-
rumque advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum
quam longum morbum inplicitum, diu ad belli munia
12 sustinenda inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis fir-
mum pacatae provinciae praesidem esse, ita parum aptum
13 bello, quod motum iri videretur,—decreverunt patres, ut
Q. Fulvius Flaccus quinque milia peditum, quadringentos
equites scriberet eamque legionem primo quoque tem-
14 pore in Sardiniam traiciendam curaret mitteretque cum
imperio quem ipsi videretur, qui rem gereret, quoad
15 Mucius convaluisset. ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius
Torquatus, qui bis consul et censor fuerat subegeratque
16 in consulatu Sardos. sub idem fere tempus et a Cartha-
gine in Sardiniam classis missa duce Hasdrubale, cui
Calvo cognomen erat, foeda tempestate vexata ad Balearis
17 insulas deicitur, ibique—adeo non armamenta modo sed
etiam alvei navium quassati erant—subductae naves dum
reficiuntur, aliquantum temporis triverunt.

35 In Italia cum post Cannensem pugnam, fractis partis
2 alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, segnius bellum
esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae
dicionis facere, primo sollicitantes, ut ab Romanis defi-
cerent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos

comparant. erat Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium 3
ad Hamas. eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores
Cumanos fecerunt petieruntque, ut et Cumanus eo sena-
tus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem
uterque populus socios hostisque haberet; praesidium ibi 4
armatum se habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove peri-
culi esset. Cumani, quamquam suspecta fraus erat, nihil
abnuere, ita detegi fallax consilium posse rati. interim 5
Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessae, quo ad con-
veniendum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato transgressus
Volturnum flumen circa Liternum posuit castra. ibi quia 6
otiosa stativa erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut
tirones—ea maxima pars volonum erant—adsuescerent
signa sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. inter quae 7
maxima erat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque prae-
ceperat, ne qua exprobratio cuiquam veteris fortunae
discordiam inter ordines sereret; vetus miles tironi,
liber voloni sese exaequari sineret; omnis satis honestos 8
generososque ducerent, quibus arma sua signaque popu-
lus Romanus commisisset; quae fortuna coegisset ita
fieri, eandem cogere tueri factum. ea non maiore cura 9
praecepta ab ducibus sunt quam a militibus observata,
brevique tanta concordia coaluerant omnium animi, ut
prope in oblivionem veniret, qua ex condicione quisque
esset miles factus. haec agenti Graccho legati Cumani 10
nuntiarunt, quae a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies
venisset et quid eis ipsi respondissent: triduo post eum 11
diem festum esse; non senatum solum omnem ibi futu-
rum sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus 12
iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris in urbem convehere et
manere intra muros, ipse pridie, quam statum sacrificium
Campanis esset, Cumas movet castra. Hamae inde tria 13
milia passuum absunt. iam Campani eo frequentes ex

composito convenerant, nec procul inde in occulto Marius
Alfius medix tuticus—is summus magistratus erat Cam-
panis—cum quattuordecim milibus armatorum habebat
14 castra, sacrificio adparando et inter id instruendae fraudi
aliquanto intentior quam muniendis castris aut ulli mili-
15 tari operi. nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante mediam
16 noctem conpleretur. huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori
ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiare
posset coepta, et ab decuma diei hora coactis militibus
17 corpora curare somnoque operam dare, ut primis tenebris
convenire ad signum possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli
18 iussit signa, silentique profectus agmine cum ad Hamas
media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in pervigilio
neglecta simul omnibus portis invadit; alios somno stra-
tos, alios perpetrato sacro inermis redeuntis obtruncat.
19 hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus duo milia cum
ipso duce Mario Alfio, capta * et signa militaria quattuor
et triginta.

36 Gracchus minus centum militum iactura castris hos-
tium potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale
metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis habebat castra.
2 nec eum provida futuri fefellit opinio: nam simul Capuam
ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal ab re bene gesta
insolenter laetum exercitum tironum magna ex parte et
servorum spoliantem victos praedasque agentem ad Ha-
3 mas se inventurum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit,
obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio Capuam
4 duci, saucios vehiculis portari iubet. ipse Hamis vacua
ab hostibus castra nec quicquam praeter recentis vestigia
5 caedis strataque passim corpora sociorum invenit. auc-
tores erant quidam, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret
6 urbemque oppugnaret. id quamquam haud modice Han-
nibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas

saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat, retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. inde fatigatus 7
Campanorum precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandae urbis Cumas redit, perpopulatoque agro Cumano mille passus ab urbe castra locat, cum Gracchus 8
magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios inplorantis fidem suam populique Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui. nec alter consul Fabius, 9
qui ad Cales castra habebat, Volturnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum, occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis, 10
dein procurandis prodigiis, quae alia super alia nuntiabantur, expiantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.

Eae causae cum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in **37**
obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugnabatur. adversus 2
ligneam ingentem admotam urbi aliam turrem ex ipso muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiorem, quia muro satis per se alto subiectis validis sublicis pro solo usus erat. inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris 3
missilibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur; postremo, ubi promovendo adiunctam muro viderunt 4
turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem coniecerunt. quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo 5
cum de turre sese praecipitaret, eruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugavitque in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti similior esset Poenus. ad mille trecenti Carthaginiensium caesi et undesexaginta 6
vivi capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus solute ac neglegenter agentes, cum nihil minus quam eruptionem timuissent, ex inproviso oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, pri- 7
usquam se hostes ab repentino pavore colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros recepit. postero die 8

Hannibal, elatum secunda re consulem iusto proelio
ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra atque urbem in-
9 struxit; ceterum, postquam neminem moveri ab solita
custodia urbis vidit nec committi quicquam temerariae
spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re.
10 Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, isdem
diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius, cui
Longo cognomen erat, cum Hannone Poeno prospere
11 pugnat. supra duo milia hominum occidit, et ducentos
octoginta milites amisit; signa militaria ad quadraginta
unum cepit. pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in
12 Bruttios sese recepit. et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae a
populo Romano defecerant, vi recepta per M. Valerium
praetorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum, et auc-
tores defectionis securi percussi. supra quinque milia
13 captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi
concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.
38 Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur,
quinque naves, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum cap-
tos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum
2 circumvectae prope omnem Italiae oram, cum praeter
Cumas velis ferrentur neque, hostium an sociorum essent,
satis sciretur, Gracchus obviam ex classe sua navis misit.
3 cum percunctando in vicem cognitum esset consulem
Cumis esse, naves Cumas adpulsae captivique ad consu-
4 lem deducti et litterae datae. consul litteris Philippi
atque Hannibalis perlectis consignata omnia ad senatum
5 itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehi legatos iussit. cum
eodem fere die litterae legatique Romam venissent, et
percunctatione facta dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo
gravis cura patris incessit cernentis, quanta vix toleran-
tibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret.
6 cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt, ut extemplo agitaretur,

quem ad modum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italia
hostem. captivis in vincula condi iussis comitibusque 7
eorum sub hasta venditis ad navis viginti quinque,
quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praeerat, viginti
quinque parari alias decernunt. his comparatis deductisque 8
et additis quinque navibus, quae advexerant captivos lega-
tos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectae, iussusque 9
P. Valerius militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius
legatus Tarenti praeerat, in navis inpositis quinquaginta
quinque navium classe non tueri modo Italiae oram sed
explorare de Macedonico bello; si congruentia litteris lega- 10
torumque indiciis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium
praetorem litteris certiorem faceret, isque L. Apustio 11
legato exercitui praeposito Tarentum ad classem profec-
tus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret
daretque operam, ut Philippum in regno contineret.
pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum 12
ea decreta est, quae Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat,
ut redderetur Hieroni regi; ea per L. Antistium legatum
Tarentum est devecta. simul ab Hierone missa ducenta 13
milia modium tritici et hordei centum.

Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum **39**
captiva navis una ex eis, quae Romam missae erant, ex
cursu refugit; inde scitum legatos cum litteris captos.
itaque ignarus rex, quae cum Hannibale legatis suis con- 2
venissent, quaeque legati eius ad se adlaturi fuissent,
legationem aliam cum eisdem mandatis mittit. legati 3
ad Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen
erat, et Crito Boeotus et Sositheus Magnes. hi prospere
tulerunt ac rettulerunt mandata. sed prius se aestas 4
circumegit, quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset:
tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad
dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.

5 Et circa Capuam, transgresso Volturnum Fabio post
expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem gerebant.
6 Combulteriam et Trebulam et Austiculam urbes, quae
ad Poenum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit; praesidiaque in
7 eis Hannibalis Campanique permulti capti. et Nolae
sicut priore anno senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis
erat, consiliaque occulta de caede principum et prodi-
8 tione urbis inibantur. quibus ne incepta procederent,
inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis
erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in
castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum proprae-
torem cum eis copiis, quas habebat, Nolam in praesidium
misit.

40 Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium praetorem
administrari coeptae, quae omissae erant, postquam
2 Q. Mucius praetor gravi morbo est inplicitus. Manlius
navibus longis ad Caralis subductis navalibusque sociis
armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a praetore exercitu
accepto duo et viginti milia peditum, mille ducentos
3 equites confecit. cum his equitum peditumque copiis
profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicorae
castris castra posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus
erat in Pellitos Sardos ad iuventutem armandam, qua
4 copias augeret; filius nomine Hostus castris praeerat. is
adulescentia ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque.
ad tria milia Sardorum eo proelio caesa, octingenti ferme
5 vivi capti; alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga
palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem
6 nomine Cornum, caput eius regionis, confugit; debella-
tumque eo proelio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica
cum duce Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad Baliaris
7 erat, in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset. Manlius
post famam adpulsae Punicae classis Caralis se recepit:

ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se iungendi.
Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe remissa 8
Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum populi Ro-
mani agrum populandum profectus Caralis perventurus
erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa eum populatione
continuisset. primo castra castris modico intervallo sunt 9
obiecta; deinde per procursationes levia certamina vario
eventu inita; postremo descensum in aciem. signis
conlatis iusto proelio per quattuor horas pugnatum. diu 10
pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis facile vinci adsuetis,
fecerunt; postremo et ipsi, cum omnia circa strage ac
fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi; ceterum terga dantis 11
circumducto cornu, quo pepulerat Sardos, inclusit Ro-
manus. caedes inde magis quam pugna fuit. duodecim 12
milia hostium caesa Sardorum simul Poenorumque, ferme
tria milia et septingenti capti et signa militaria septem et
viginti. ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam **41**
fecit Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago
nobiles Carthaginienses, Mago ex gente Barcina, pro- 2
pinqua cognatione Hannibali iunctus, Hanno auctor
rebellionis Sardis bellique eius haud dubie concitor.
nec Sardorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladi- 3
bus suis fecerunt: nam et filius Hampsicorae Hostus in
acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum paucis equitibus fugiens, 4
ut super adflictas res necem quoque fili audivit, nocte, ne
cuius interventus coepta inpediret, mortem sibi conscivit.
ceteris urbs Cornus eadem, quae ante, fugae receptaculum 5
fuit; quam Manlius victore exercitu adgressus intra dies
paucos recepit. deinde aliae quoque civitates, quae ad 6
Hampsicoram Poenosque defecerant, obsidibus datis de-
diderunt sese; quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato
pro cuiusque aut viribus aut delicto Caralis exercitum
reduxit. ibi navibus longis deductis inpositoque, quem 7

secum advexerat, milite Romam navigat Sardiniamque
perdomitam nuntiat patribus; et stipendium quaestori-
bus, frumentum aedilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio praetori
tradit.

8 Per idem tempus T. Otacilius praetor ab Lilybaeo
classi in Africam transvectus depopulatusque agrum
9 Carthaginiensem cum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo fama
erat Hasdrubalem a Balearibus nuper traiecisse, classi
Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certamine in alto
commisso septem inde navis cum sociis navalibus cepit.
ceteras metus haud secus quam tempestas passim
disiecit.

10 Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus ad
supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque et com-
11 meatu Locros accessit. quem ut incautum opprimeret,
Ap. Claudius per simulationem provinciae circumeundae
Messanam raptim exercitu ducto vento aestuque suo
12 Locros traiecit. iam inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in
Bruttios profectus erat, et Locrenses portas Romanis
clauserunt: Appius magno conatu nulla re gesta Mes-
sanam repetit.

13 Eadem aestate Marcellus ab Nola, quam praesidio
obtinebat, crebras excursiones in agrum Hirpinum et
Samnites Caudinos fecit adeoque omnia ferro atque igni
14 vastavit, ut antiquarum cladium Samnio memoriam reno-
42 varet. itaque extemplo legati ad Hannibalem missi simul
2 ex utraque gente ita Poenum adlocuti sunt: 'Hostes
populi Romani, Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi,
quoad nostra arma, nostrae vires nos tutari poterant. post-
quam eis parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiunximus;
3 a quo relicti pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque in
ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tempus, quo tu
4 in Italiam venisti. tua nos non magis virtus fortunaque

quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga civis nostros,
quos captos nobis remisisti, ita conciliavit tibi, ut te salvo
atque incolumi amico non modo populum Romanum
sed ne deos quidem iratos, si fas est dici, timeremus. at 5
hercule non solum incolumi et victore sed praesente te,
cum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum
exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspicere, ita sumus
aliquotiens hac aestate devastati, ut M. Marcellus, non
Hannibal vicisse ad Cannas videatur, glorienturque Ro-
mani te ad unum modo ictum vigentem velut aculeo
emisso torpere. per annos centum cum populo Romano 6
bellum gessimus nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exer-
citu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite
suas auxit vires quam suis viribus nos defendit. non ego 7
secundis rebus nostris gloriabor, duos consules ac duos
consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos, et si
qua alia aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. quae 8
aspera adversaque tunc acciderunt, minore indignatione
referre possumus, quam quae hodie eveniunt. magni 9
dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum
binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur finis nos-
tros; ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad
populandum ducebant: nunc propraetoris unius et parvi 10
ad tuendam Nolam praesidi praeda sumus; iam ne
manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant
totis finibus nostris neglegentius, quam si in Romano
vagarentur agro. causa autem haec est, quod neque tu 11
defendis et nostra iuventus, quae, si domi esset, tutaretur,
omnis sub signis militat tuis. nec te nec exercitum tuum 12
norim, nisi, a quo tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque
esse sciam, ei facile esse ducam opprimere populatores
nostros vagos sine signis palatos, quo quemque trahit
quamvis vana praedae spes. Numidarum paucorum illi 13

quidem praeda erunt praesidiumque simul nobis addideris
et Nolae ademeris, si modo, quos, ut socios haberes,
dignos duxisti, haud indignos iudicas, quos in fidem
receptos tuearis.'

43 Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hir-
pinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere
2 praesidium et queri indefensos se neglectosque. indi-
candum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium,
postremo, ni inpetraretur, tum denique querendum frustra
3 opem inploratam. exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum
Samnitemve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca
sociorum populi Romani adducturum. eis populandis
et militem suum repleturum se et metu procul ab
4 eis summoturum hostis. quod ad bellum Romanum
attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum
quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum se
quoque memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria
facturum.

5 Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos di-
misit; ipse praesidio modico relicto in Tifatis profectus
6 cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit; eodem Hanno ex
Bruttiis cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque ele-
phantis venit. castris haud procul positis longe alia omnia
inquirenti conperta sunt, quam quae a legatis sociorum
7 audierat. nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat, ut aut fortunae
aut temere hosti commissum dici posset: explorato cum
firmisque praesidiis, tuto receptu praedatum ierat, om-
niaque velut adversus praesentem Hannibalem cauta
8 provisaque fuerant. tum, ubi sensit hostem adventare,
copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare sena-
tores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare, quae apud,
9 hostes fierent. ex his Hanno cum ad murum successisset
Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad conloquium

evocatos permissuque Marcelli egressos per interpretem
adloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque extollit, 10
populi Romani obterit senescentem cum viribus maiesta-
tem. quae si paria essent, ut quondam fuissent, tamen 11
expertis, quam grave Romanum imperium sociis, quanta
indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnis Italici
nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem atque
amicitiam praeoptandam esse. si ambo consules cum 12
suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares
Hannibali futuros, quam ad Cannas fuissent, nedum
praetor unus cum paucis et novis militibus Nolam tutari
possit. ipsorum quam Hannibalis magis interesse, capta 13
an tradita Nola poteretur: potiturum enim, ut Capua
Nuceriaque potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuae ac
Nuceriae fortunam interesset, ipsos prope in medio sitos
Nolanos scire. nolle ominari, quae captae urbi casura 14
forent, et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum praesidio
ac Nolam tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem,
qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent, dic-
turum. ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit multos annos **44**
iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam
esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, et sibi, si
cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero iam esse mutare.
an dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum 2
praesidium? cum eis, qui ad sese tuendos venissent,
omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.

Hoc conloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per pro- 3
ditionem recipiendae Nolae; itaque corona oppidum
circumdedit, ut simul ab omni parte moenia adgrederetur.
quem ut successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa intra 4
portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. aliquot primo
impetu perculsi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad pugnan-
tis facto aequatisque viribus atrox esse coepit pugna,

memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ni ingentibus procel-
5 lis effusus imber diremisset pugnantis. eo die commisso
modico certamine atque inritatis animis in urbem Romani,
Poeni in castra receperunt sese: nam Poenorum prima
eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud plus quam triginta,
6 Romani quinquaginta. imber continens per noctem
totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit;
itaque quamquam utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, eo
die tenuerunt sese tamen munimentis. tertio die Hanni-
bal partem copiarum praedatum in agrum Nolanum misit.
7 quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem
copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detractavit. mille fere
passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo spatio—et
8 sunt omnia campi circa Nolam—concurrerunt. clamor
ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus eis,
quae in agros praedatum exierant, ad proelium iam com-
9 missum revocavit. et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt,
quos conlaudatos Marcellus in subsidiis stare et saucios
ex acie efferre iussit, pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum
45 accepissent. proelium erat anceps: summa vi et duces
hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante
diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis
priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce, milite alio, instare
2 iubet. non omnis esse in acie; praedantis vagari in
agris; et qui pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria, vino et
scortis omnibusque lustris per totam hiemem confectos.
3 abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa esse robora corporum
animorumque, quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint
iuga. reliquias illorum virorum vix arma membraque
4 sustinentis pugnare. Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse.
ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi prae-
5 teriti temporis famam, ibi spem futuri extinctam. cum
haec exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos

erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpabat:
arma signaque eadem se noscere, quae ad Trebiam Tra- 6
sumennumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque;
militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse,
alium inde eduxisse. 'legatumne Romanum et legionis 7
unius atque alae magno certamine vix toleratis pugnam,
quos binae acies consulares numquam sustinuerunt?
Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiis inultus nos 8
iam iterum lacessit? ubi ille miles meus est, qui derepto
ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? ubi, qui
L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? ferrum nunc hebet? an 9
dextrae torpent? an quid prodigi est aliud? qui pauci
plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis?
Romam vos expugnaturos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua
iactabatis; en in minore re experiri vim virtutemque 10
volo: expugnate Nolam, campestrem urbem, non flumine,
non mari saeptam. hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe
praeda spoliisque onustos vel ducam, quo voletis, vel
sequar.'

Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad confirmandos **46**
animos. cum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque cres- 2
cerent animi non duce solum adhortante, sed Nolanis
etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardo-
rem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt atque in castra conpulsi
sunt. quae oppugnare cupientis milites Romanos Mar- 3
cellus Nolam reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione
etiam plebis, quae ante inclinatior ad Poenos fuerat.
hostium plus quinque milia caesa eo die, vivi capti 4
sescenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephanti,
quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille inter-
fecti. posterum diem indutiis tacitis sepeliendo utrimque 5
caesos in acie consumpserunt. spolia hostium Marcellus,
Vulcano votum, cremavit. tertio post die—ob iram 6

credo aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiae—ducenti
septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae et Hispani, ad
Marcellum transfugerunt. eorum forti fidelique opera
7 in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani. ager Hispanis in
Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum virtutis causa
datus est.

8 Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum
quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliae hiberna petit circaque
9 Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in Apuliam
Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in
ea castra convecto, quae super Suessulam erant, muni-
mentisque firmatis et praesidio, quod per hiberna ad
tenendum locum satis esset, relicto ipse Capuam propius
movit castra agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est de-
10 populatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum
viribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra ante urbem
11 in aperto communire. sex milia armatorum habebant,
peditem inbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque eques-
12 tribus proeliis lacessebant hostem. inter multos nobiles
equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine
Taurea. civis indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum
fortissimus eques, adeo ut, cum apud Romanos militaret,
unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri
13 aequaret. hic tunc Taurea, cum diu perlustrans oculis
obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto, ubi
14 esset Claudius Asellus quaesivit et, quoniam verbis
secum de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro
decerneret daretque opima spolia victus aut victor caperet.
47 haec ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo mora-
tus, ut consulem percunctaretur, liceretne extra ordinem
2 in provocantem hostem pugnare, permissu eius arma
extemplo cepit provectusque ante stationes equo Tau-
ream nomine compellavit congredique, ubi vellet, iussit.

iam Romani ad spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes 3
exierant, et Campani non vallum modo castrorum sed
moenia etiam urbis prospectantes repleverant. cum iam 4
ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis
concitarunt equos; dein libero spatio inter se ludificantes
sine volnere pugnam extrahebant. tum Romanus Cam- 5
pano 'Equorum' inquit 'hoc, non equitum erit certamen,
nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam demittimus equos; ibi
nullo ad evagandum spatio comminus conserentur manus.'
dicto prope citius equom in viam Claudius deiecit; Taurea 6
verbis ferocior quam re 'Minime sis' inquit 'cantherium
in fossam'; quae vox in rusticum inde proverbium pro-
dita est. Claudius, cum cava longe perequitasset via, 7
nullo obvio hoste in campum rursus evectus increpans
ignaviam hostis cum magno gaudio et gratulatione victor
in castra redit. huic pugnae equestri rem—quam vera 8
sit, communis existimatio est—mirabilem certe adiciunt
quidam annales: cum refugientem ad urbem Tauream
Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium porta invectum per
alteram stupentibus miraculo hostibus intactum evasisse.

Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit **48**
castra, ut sementem Campani facerent, nec ante violavit
agrum Campanum, quam iam altae in segetibus herbae
pabulum praebere poterant. id convexit in Claudiana cas- 2
tra super Suessulam ibique hiberna aedificavit. M. Claudio
proconsuli imperavit, ut retento Nolae necessario ad tuen-
dam urbem praesidio ceteros milites dimitteret Romam,
ne oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. et Ti. Grac- 3
chus, a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones cum duxisset,
M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo quem
Luceriae habuerat exercitu misit tuerique oram agri
Sallentini et providere, quod ad Philippum bellumque
Macedonicum attineret, iussit.

4 Exitu aestatis eius, qua haec gesta perscripsimus,
litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quam-
que prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam
in stipendium vestimentaque et frumentum exercitui et
5 sociis navalibus omnia deesse. quod ad stipendium at-
tineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros,
quo modo ab Hispanis sumant; cetera utique ab Roma
mittenda esse, nec aliter aut exercitum aut provinciam
6 teneri posse. litteris recitatis nemo omnium erat, quin et
vera scribi et postulari aequa fateretur; sed occurrebat
animis, quantos exercitus terrestris navalisque tuerentur,
quantaque nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum
7 Macedonicum moveretur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae
ante bellum vectigales fuissent, vix praesides provinciarum
8 exercitus alere; tributo sumptus suppeditari; ceterum ip-
sum tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercituum
stragibus et ad Trasumennum lacum et ad Cannas inmi-
nutum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur
9 stipendio, alia perituros peste. itaque nisi fide staret
10 res publica, opibus non staturam. prodeundum in con-
tionem Fulvio praetori esse, indicandas populo publicas
necessitates cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxissent
patrimonia, ut rei publicae, ex qua crevissent, tempus
11 commodarent conducerentque ea lege praebenda, quae
ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, cum pecunia
12 in aerario esset, eis primis solveretur. haec praetor in
contione edixit, quoque die vestimenta ac frumentum
Hispaniensi exercitui praebenda, quaeque alia opus essent
49 navalibus sociis, esset locaturus. ubi ea dies venit, ad
conducendum tres societates aderant hominum unde-
2 viginti, quorum duo postulata fuere: unum, ut militia
vaoarent, dum in eo publico essent, alterum, ut, quae in
navis inposuissent, ab hostium tempestatisque vi publico

periculo essent. utroque impetrato conduxerunt, privata- 3
que pecunia res publica administrata est. ei mores eaque
caritas patriae per omnis ordines velut tenore uno pertine-
bat. quem ad modum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, 4
sic summa fide praebita, nec quicquam parcius militibus
datum, quam si ex opulento aerario, ut quondam, alerentur.

Cum hi commeatus venerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab 5
Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilcaris filio ob
defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. inter haec trina 6
castra hostium Scipiones cum in urbem sociorum magno
certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum,
cuius inopia erat, advexerunt, cohortatique oppidanos, ut 7
eodem animo moenia tutarentur, quo pro se pugnantem
Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppug-
nanda, quibus Hasdrubal praeerat, ducunt. eodem et 8
duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem
summam agi cernentes, convenerunt. itaque eruptione 9
e castris pugnatum est. sexaginta hostium milia eo die
in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa ab Romanis. tamen 10
adeo haud dubia victoria fuit, ut plures numero, quam
ipsi erant, Romani hostium occiderint, ceperint amplius 11
tria milia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, unde-
sexaginta militaria signa, septem elephantos, quinque in
proelio occisis, trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Iliturgi 12
obsidione liberato ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exer-
citus traducti suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae maxime
omnium belli avida, modo praeda aut merces esset, et
tum iuventute abundante. iterum signis conlatis eadem 13
fortuna utriusque partis pugnatum. supra tredecim milia
hostium caesa, supra duo capta cum signis duobus et
quadraginta et novem elephantis. tum vero omnes prope 14
Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque
maiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestae.

NOTES

The marginal numbers refer to the sections

The following abbreviations are sometimes used: WM (Weissenborn-Müller), WL (Wolfflin-Luterbacher), MM (Mommsen and Marquardt), LL (Lange's Röm. Alterthümer), CR (Classical Review), DHS (Draeger, Historische Syntax).

CHAPTER I

1 **Hannibal...moverat**] the text is incomplete and cannot now be restored with certainty: see Appendix.

Cannensem pugnam] the traditional date of this battle is 2 Aug. 216, but the Roman calendar at this time was incorrect, and the battle was probably fought in June.

castraque capta ac direpta] Hannibal took and plundered the two Roman camps at Cannae, one on either side of the Aufidus, cp. XXII. 52.

Hirpinos] a tribe occupying the S.E. portion of Samnium; one of their towns was Compsa, now Conza, on the upper Aufidus.

2 **nobilis inter suos**] he belonged to the local aristocracy and was not a member of a Roman patrician family.

factio] the word is used of a political party or clique, generally in a depreciatory sense, as we often use 'faction' and 'factious.'

3 **adventum**] 'approach.'

acceptum] 'admitted.'

4 **Magonem**] Hannibal's youngest brother.

accipere] 'take over': the word is often used of receiving the surrender of a town.

detrectantis] 'if they were reluctant' to do so.

5 **mare inferum**] the Mediterranean off the W. coast of Italy was called the *mare inferum* as opposed to the Adriatic, the *mare superum*, 24 § 8.

Neapolim] the occupation of Naples would be of great value to Hannibal as affording him a maritime base for supplies of men and material from Carthage. For another attempt to gain a sea-base here cp. 15 § 1 and also 36 § 6.

6 **partim**] followed by *alios*.

cavae viae] 'sunk lanes,' 'deep cuttings': cp. 47 § 5 *nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam demittimus equos.*

sinus occulti] 'hidden ravines': *sinus* are pockets or folds in the hills.

ostentantis] 'making a show of.' They looked like a party of horsemen collecting cattle and other booty from the country and so excited no suspicion. When they approached the gates a troop of cavalry issued forth to attack them and were drawn by their skilful retreat into the prepared ambush where the rest of the Numidians were concealed.

7 **nec multi**] = *et non multi*: 'because they seemed to be few in number and in no order.'

turma] 'troop' originally consisted of 30 mounted men divided into three *decuriae* each commanded by a *decurio*. Later on it was duplicated, so that at this period a *turma* probably consisted of 60 men in 6 *decuriae* and was commanded by the senior of the 6 *decuriones*. The *praefectus equitum* mentioned below may have been the commanding officer of the squadron *ala* which contained five double *turmae*. MM v. 387.

8 **mare propinquom et...conspectae**] 'the proximity of the sea and the sight of,' etc.

10 **prompta oppugnanti**] 'easy to assault.'

Chapter II

1 **Capuam**] Capua took part in the Latin war against Rome in 340, and on the conclusion of the war in 338 the inhabitants became *cives sine suffragio*, having to bear the burdens of citizenship without any of its public rights, but otherwise retaining their own independent municipal existence, thus belonging to the privileged class of *municipia*. In 318 the Romans further diminished the importance of Capua by reducing it, with various other Campanian towns, to the position of

a *praefectura* in which justice was administered by *quattuorviri iuri dicundo* sent from Rome.

luxuriantem] Capua owed its wealth and luxury to its favourable position on the Via Appia as a trading centre in an extremely fertile district within easy reach of the coast: cp. Cic. Leg. Agr. II. 95 *Campani semper superbi bonitate agrorum et fructuum magnitudine, urbis salubritate, descriptione, pulchritudine:* Livy VII. 31 § 1.

inter corrupta omnia] 'amid general corruption' = *cum omnia corrupta essent*: cp. Tac. An. XI. 18 *inter Gotargis pleraque saeva* = *cum pleraque Gotargis (facta) essent saeva* and note on 22 § 8.

2 **obnoxium]** 'subservient.'

nobilis...homo] he was of high rank and also a popular leader, a rather unusual combination in those days.

malis artibus] 'bad practices,' 'dishonest methods,' cp. XXIV. 4 § 2 *bonis artibus partum regnum*: in Tacitus *artes* comes to be used almost in the sense of 'character,' cp. An. VI. 7 *sanctissimis Arruntii artibus.*

3 **Trasumennum]** the battle of the Trasumene lake near Perugia was fought 23 June 217, corresponding to some date in April by the reformed calendar. The chronology of this period of Roman history is hopelessly confused.

summo magistratu] he probably held the office of *medix tuticus* of Campania, cp. note on 35 § 13.

per occasionem] 'when the opportunity offered,' 'taking the opportunity': the phrase is common in Livy.

ut...traderet] explanatory of *facinus*: 'would venture on the serious crime of handing over.'

4 **inprobus]** 'unprincipled': in 3 § 9 it is contrasted with *iustus*.

publico consilio] 'public deliberative body': see notes on 3 § 5, 22 § 2.

5 **fuisset]** in his own words *fuerit* 'shall have proved.'

6 **Appi Claudi]** probably Appius Claudius Caudex cos. 264.

Romam] accusative of 'motion towards,' conditioned by the general sense of *nuptum dedisset*, he had sent her to Rome and given her in marriage.

M. Livio] M. Livius Salinator cos. 219.

8 **permittant sibi]** 'allow him to act,' 'give him a free hand.'

9 **et ipse]** 'myself too' καὶ αὐτός: this expression is frequent in Livy, not in Caesar or Sallust, very rare in Cicero who prefers *etiam ipse*, cp. Fausset on Cic. p. Cluentio 58, Draeger I. 81.

adversarer] 'should oppose'—if I tried to.

10 **vestibulo**] 'porch,' or perhaps a small open court in front of the *curia*.

Chapter III

2 **per tumultum**] 'by a sudden rising': the word émeute though not desirable as a translation expresses the meaning of *tumultus* better than any single English word.

3 **nec**] = *et ne*: notice positive command *accipite* followed by prohibition *ne egeritis* perfect subjunctive. In earlier Latin *neve* would be more common than *nec*.

forte temere] 'at haphazard': this odd colloquialism, originating probably in *forte et temere*, is often found in Livy. Conway on II. 20 § 3 says *temerē* is a locative from an old noun *temus* 'darkness': another view is that *temerĕ* is neuter of an old adjective *temeris*, in which case *temeris*, *temerĕ*, *temeriter*, correspond in formation and use to *facilis*, *facilĕ*, *faciliter*.

4 **hos**] emphatic; 'these in particular.'

non...non voltis] 'it is not that you do not wish to have any senate at all.'

5 **unum...consilium**] 'the only possible organ (representative body) of a free state.' Calavius speaking as a Roman of the third century B.C. means that a senate is the only satisfactory governing body of a free community.

cooptetis] 'appoint in their place': *cooptare* is properly used of the filling up of vacancies in any corporate body by the other members of that body: here it is used of appointment from outside.

6 **deque eorum**] if this is read *consulam* is future, if *de quorum* it is present subjunctive.

7 **excidit**] regular word for the dropping out of a tablet when the urn containing the lots (*sortes*) is shaken; cp. Hor. Od. II. 3. 25 *omnium* | *versatur urna serius ocius* | *sors exitura* and III. 1 16 *omne capax movet urna nomen*.

10 **inopia potioris subiciundi**] 'from lack of ability to substitute a better.'

11 **alii nunc...obicerent**] 'others charging them, now with disgraceful actions, now with obscure birth and squalid poverty and with some kind of discreditable profession or means of livelihood.'

12 **ut...deesse]** 'so that it was clear that people disapproved of the man himself but that there was no one for them to substitute in his place.'

13 **nihil aliud quam]** practically equivalent to 'only'; cp. XXII. 60 § 7 *quid aliud quam admonendi essetis*, XXIV. 36 § 7 *cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam inopiam adgravari*. The expression originated in an ellipse of some part of *facere*, e.g. *nihil aliud* (*facientes*) *quam clamantes*. Later on the need for supplying some part of *facere* was forgotten, and so the phrase came to mean 'only,' and is here used illogically with the perfect participle *nominatos*. Tr. 'because there was no use in the same persons being nominated when the only result of their nomination was that they heard themselves abused.'

14 **notissimum]** cp. Hamlet's 'And makes us rather bear those ills we have | than fly to others that we know not of.'

Chapter IV

1 **obnoxium]** cp. 2 § 2.

2 **salutare]** *salutatio* was properly due from the lower to the higher rank.

benigne invitare] 'show them kindly hospitality': this seems to refer to private social entertainment as opposed to the 'elaborate banquets' next mentioned. WM point out that Livy summarises the treatment of the plebs by the senate under two heads, their private and their public action, with three subdivisions under each head.

3 **secundum eam litem]** the balance of the sentence requires that *eam litem* should be taken together corresponding to *eas causas* and *ei parti*: then *senatores* must be the subject and *iudices* the object of *dare*: the senate appoints judges to support that dispute (that side in a dispute) which etc. The general meaning seems to be that the senate appointed judges who would be likely to take the popular side in any dispute affecting the relations between rich and poor. The other way of taking the sentence is to translate 'the senators as judges decide a suit (*dare litem*) in favour of that party (*secundum eam partem*) which' etc. A further difficulty presents itself. Capua was at this time a *praefectura* and justice was administered by *quattuorviri iuri dicundo* sent from Rome (cp. note on 2 § 1 and Introduction p. xxii). In that case what had the senators to do with lawsuits? Probably ordinary issues were still decided by local magistrates.

in volgus] almost an adverbial phrase like *volgo*, cp. XXII. 3 § 4 *milite in volgus laeto*: 'better adapted for winning popular favour.'

4 **iam vero**] marks a climax: 'in a word.'

plebis concilium] 'an assembly of the commons.'

amoenitatis] *amoenus* and *amoenitas* are generally used of the natural attractions of scenery and environment.

5 **tum vero**] used with reference to the preceding *semper*: the town was *always* prone to luxury, *but just at this time* there was no limit to its wanton licence.

obsequio principum] 'the obsequiousness of the leading men': they were always courting popular favour and had lost their independence of character.

6 **cuius aliqua verecundia erat**] 'for which there was previously some reverence.' The Campanians used to have some reverence for Roman authority but even that was now lost. One would expect *fuerat* for *erat* as Alschefski says.

7 **id modo...deficerent**] 'the only obstacle in the way of their revolting at once was' etc.

8 **cum militarent...erant**] 'while a large number were serving with the Romans the strongest tie between them was' etc. These noble Campanian knights served as hostages for the fidelity of Capua. In the subsequent negotiations with Hannibal an attempt was made to recover them, 7 § 2.

Chapter V

1 **Canusium**] now Canosa, a town near Cannae, not to be confused with the smaller but more famous Canossa.

Venusiae] now Venosa, about 20 miles S.W. of Cannae, known as the birthplace of Horace. It was a Latin colony founded in 291, the colonists numbering 20000. For the flight to Venusia after Cannae, cp. XXII. 49 § 14, 54 § 1. This deputation was sent to Varro before he moved from Venusia to Canusium.

quam poterat maxime miserabilem] 'as pitiable as he could possibly be'; supply *esse* with *poterat*: 'presenting the most pitiable sight.' *spernendum* 'an object of scorn.' Note that by position of words and by emphasis Livy brings out the contrast that would be expressed in Greek by two clauses introduced by μέν and δέ.

sociis] here and elsewhere the term *socii* is loosely applied to the

Campanians, though Capua as a *municipium* or *praefectura* was not strictly an 'allied' community. For the arrogance of the Campanians cp. IX. 6 § 5 where Livy speaks of their *ingenita superbia.*

3 **quae opus essent**] '*opus* is used as a secondary predicate, the thing needed being the subject,' Roby § 1225.

5 **quia aliquid habeamus**] note the subjunctive 'because (of the supposed notion that) we have something.' Roby § 1744, Riemann § 193.

imperemus] 'should we requisition?' The speaker repudiates the suggestion made by the Campanians: for this type of subjunctive see an interesting paper by H. C. Notting in CR XIII. 32 with a previous article by H. C. Elmer in XII. 199.

6 **equi virique**] there is some tautology here after *legiones equitatus*, first the troops in mass, then the individual horses and men composing them. The long list of eight substantives is grouped in four pairs, and is lightened by the linking of *viri* to *equi* by *que.*

8 **Sidicinum**] the Sidicini occupied the district round Teanum, now Teano, on the Via Latina a few miles N.W. of Cales. We do not read anywhere of the Sidicini actually attacking the Campanians. On the contrary the Sidicini hard pressed by the Samnites applied to the Campanians for aid. They gave them some very inadequate assistance, cp. VII. 29 §§ 4, 5. We must assume then that the Sidicini annoyed at the poor response to their appeal threatened to turn against their useless allies, and it was when the Campanians were dreading lest they should join the Samnites in their invasion of Campania that Rome interfered and took Capua under her protection, cp. VII. 30. A recent Roman historian, Ettore Pais, regards the surrender of Capua in 343 as a late fabrication, invented after 211 to justify Rome's severe treatment of the town.

Saticulam] now S. Agata (Kromayer III. 396, n. 4) a small town east of Capua. It was a Latin colony founded probably in 313.

coeptumque propter vos] it is hardly correct to say that the Samnite war was undertaken on account of the Campanians.

centum prope annos] an exaggeration: the Samnite wars lasted with intermissions for about 70 years (343 to 272), cp. XXXI. 31 § 10 *cum pro eis bellum adversus Samnites per annos prope septuaginta... gessissemus.*

9 **foedus aequom**] *foedera* were either *aequa* or *iniqua*: they were *aequa* if the terms were favourable and in no way humiliating to the subject state.

deditis] (to you) 'on your surrender': people who thus surrendered were called *dediticii*, and perhaps *dediticiis* should be read here: cp. VII. 31 § 4 where Livy puts into the mouth of the Campanian envoys the formula of surrender: *itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.*

leges vestras] the right to govern themselves by their own laws; it was at a later period (318) that Capua became a *praefectura*, when the main part of its jurisdiction passed into the hands of the Roman *praefecti.*

civitatem...dedimus] this seems to refer to the statement in VIII. 11 § 16 *equitibus Campanis civitas Romana data* where *civitas* is intended to denote the complete rights of citizenship. This was in 340, but in 338 the rest of the inhabitants are said to have received the limited citizenship *civitas sine suffragio.* The next change came in 318 when Capua was made a *praefectura.* The whole subject is full of difficulty, see Introduction, p. xxii.

communicavimusque vobiscum] the words seem unnecessary as they stand. It is suggested that *conubium* may have fallen out after *vobiscum.* If the words are correct they are a mere rhetorical amplification of what has gone before: WM, WL.

11 **Etrusco**] a reference to the war between Rome and Etruria when Veii was captured. The argument is—if the Samnites or Etruscans had been victorious the dominating power would still have remained in Italy, but if Hannibal beats us the power passes to Africa.

ne Africae quidem indigena] a reference to Dido, the foundress of Carthage, who was of Tyrian origin. Livy refers to this again in XXXIV. 62 § 11, 12.

freto...columnis] to one approaching the ocean from the Mediterranean the mount of Gibraltar, and Abyla a peak of the Atlas range on the opposite coast, look like two gigantic pillars and so were called the pillars of Hercules. Hence too the fable that Atlas supported the heaven on his shoulders.

humanae] the adjective belongs in sense to *iuris* and *condicionis*, as well as to *linguae.*

12 **pontibus...faciendis**] traditions of fords and pathways being blocked with corpses over which those who come after must make their way are common enough, and no doubt often founded on fact. The further

statement that Hannibal taught his men cannibalism may be safely rejected. Polybius IX. 24 says that this advice was given to Hannibal by his friend Hannibal Monomachus. It has been suggested that the story may have arisen in Hannibal's polyglot army from a misunderstanding of the Greek proverbial phrase *ὠμοὺς καταφαγεῖν*. CR II. 226.

13 **infandis pastos epulis]** the language has a poetical cast: 'surfeited on these foul banquetings.'

genito modo in Italia] 'merely born in Italy': still more to one who was a free Roman citizen.

detestabile] 'abhorrent': a stronger word than our 'detestable.'

14 **reciperatum]** for the spelling of this word see Conway and Walters, Livy I. 12 § 1.

15 **triginta...equitum]** Polybius and others estimate, apparently on the authority of trustworthy records, that in 225 the disposable military force of the Roman state was from 770,000 to 800,000 men. Of this total 273,000 are Romans and Campanians available but not actually enrolled. Therefore Livy's statement here that there were 34,000 Campanians fit for service may be accepted as accurate: cp. MM V 381.

victos esse] the mind of the reader easily supplies *sentient* or *se sentient*. On the general character of this speech by Varro see Introduction, p. xxiv.

Chapter VI

1 **ab]** 'after': the word is not in the MSS, but is inserted in accordance with Livy's usage; cp. XXII. 40 § 4 *ab hac contione legati missi sunt*, and elsewhere.

agrum...ademptum] in the Samnite war 340 Rome annexed the Falernian district of Campania lying between M. Massicus and the Volturnus, VIII. 11 § 13.

2 **neque controversiam fore quin...relinquatur]** 'nor will anyone dispute the fact that...is left.'

Italiae imperium] Cicero Leg. Agr. II. 87 says that the Romans were of opinion that apart from Rome there were only three cities in the world which were capable of sustaining the burden of imperial rule—Carthage, Corinth and Capua, and for that reason Rome destroyed them all. He might perhaps have added Syracuse.

3 **ita renuntiant legationem**] 'give such a report of their embassy,' cp. 20 § 7 *haec postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est.* As *renuntiant* is the historic present it is followed by the imperfect *videretur.*

5 **auctoritatibus**] 'authoritative pronouncements.'

6 **alter consul**] Cic. Leg. Agr. II. 95 *ex hac copia atque omnium rerum adfluentia primum illa nata est arrogantia, quae a maioribus nostris alterum Capua consulem postulavit*: Valerius Maximus VI. 4 § 1 *Annius autem Campanus etiam consulem alterum Capua creari debere adseverabat: sic contusus et aeger Romani imperii spiritus erat.*

7 **indignatione orta**] Valerius says that T. Manlius Torquatus led the indignant remonstrance, and assigns to him on this occasion the remark that Livy attributes to him in 22 § 7 that he would with his own hand kill any Latin who should gain access to the senate. A similar threat is attributed by Livy VIII 5 § 5 to another T. Manlius Torquatus, who was consul in 340 when the Latin communities, through their representative, L. Annius Setinus, demanded that one of the two consuls should be a Latin. Notice that here an Annius is the Latin spokesman just as, according to Valerius, it was an Annius who demanded the consulship for Capua after the battle of Cannae. There could not be a better instance of the vagueness and untrustworthiness of Roman tradition.

8 **nimis compar...erat**] see last note. Livy has a suspicion that one of the two stories is probably untrue, and says that he inclines to reject the second—the Campanian deputation to Rome after Cannae—because Coelius and other writers would not have been likely to omit it without good reason. The text of this passage is uncertain: I doubtfully follow Madvig in reading *praetermissuri erant*: see Appendix.

Coelius] cp. Introduction, p. xxiii.

Chapter VII

1 **invitus militaret**] there is quite a modern touch in this objection to compulsory service, but it must be remembered that what they objected to was military service in the Carthaginian army.

2 **suae leges**] they required at least as much local independence as they had under Rome, perhaps even more: cp. note on 4 § 3.

quos ipsi elegissent] 'whom they should themselves choose': in or. rect. *eligerimus*, 'shall have chosen' or 'shall choose.'

equitum] cp. 4 § 8 with note.

3 **insuper quam**] like *ultra quam.*

nam] a good instance of *nam* introducing an explanatory sentence. Like γάρ, which is so often used in a similar way, it need not be translated.

praefectos socium] it is not clear what officials these are; Livy can hardly mean the *praefecti iuri dicundo.* Perhaps the term is loosely used of the officers of the allied Campanian force: for the term *socii* applied to the Campanians cp. note on 5 § 1.

repente] 'hurriedly': to be taken with *comprehensos.*

balneis includi] the story of suffocation in the baths is told by Appian and Zonaras in reference to the capture of Nuceria.

4 **Decius Magius**] see Introduction, p. xxiv. The family is referred to by Cicero, Piso 24.

5 **Pyrrhi**] Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, invaded Italy in 281 and left in 274. He died in Argos in 272.

Tarentinorum] the large and opulent Greek city of Tarentum, fearing the vengeance of Rome, with which it was at variance, allied itself with Philip in 281 and was occupied by his troops till 272. In 282 the Tarentines had made a savage and treacherous attack on the Roman fleet anchored in their harbour, an act which elicits from the distinguished German historian, Theodor Mommsen, the following interesting remark: "One of those horrible barbarities of civilisation when moral principle suddenly forsakes the helm, and the merest coarseness emerges in its room, as if to warn us against the childish belief that civilisation is able to extirpate brutality from human nature."

6 **ut receptum**] this sentence is rather obscurely worded. First of all Magius urged the Campanians not to admit the Punic garrison; afterwards, when it was admitted, he urged them either to expel it or to massacre it: *receptum* then is not a concessive participle 'if it were admitted' but 'being admitted.' The sense would be fully given if Livy had written *deinde, ut praesidium receptum vidit, palam vociferatus est ut receptum* ('having been admitted') *aut eiceretur aut interficeretur,* but note that instead of ending with *aut interficeretur* he alters his sentence to give emphasis to what would be the main sequel of killing the garrison, viz. returning to their allegiance to Rome. See some remarks by Mr Dimsdale, Introduction to Bk XXII. p. xiii. The change of construction requires the insertion of a second *ut* to go with *restituerent.*

vetustissimis sociis] the association of Capua with Rome began with its surrender in 343; for *sociis* cp. note on 5 § 1. Livy uses both *vetustissimus* and *veterrimus*.

facinus] properly used of a notable deed whether good or bad; this is shown clearly by the use of the word here first with *malum* then with *forti ac memorabili*, cp. 15 § 11 *egregia facinora militaria*.

7 **ferociter]** 'haughtily': note the dramatic touch here and elsewhere in this narrative, especially § 10, where we are told that Magius strolled in a leisurely way about the forum to show his disregard of Hannibal. Livy is fond of the words *ferox*, *ferocia*, *ferociter*. Mr Conway (II. 46 § 4) goes too far in saying that *ferox* never means 'fierce'; that depends on the precise meaning one attaches to the word 'fierce,' cp. 47 § 6 *verbis ferocior quam re* 'fiercer in speech than in action': etymologically the words are the same.

8 **ne quid inter vim tumultus]** 'lest in the midst of their turbulence some sudden rising' (should take place).

praetorem Campanum] Livy probably means that Blossius was *medix tuticus* of Campania, on which see note on 35 § 13.

9 **oboedienter]** this adverb is said not to occur in extant Latin before Livy.

enixe] 'eagerly,' frequently used by Livy. For the text of this passage see Appendix.

10 **quo]** 'whereby.'

ex conscientia] 'arising from a consciousness of guilt.'

trepidante] 'in a thrill of eagerness.'

11 **primoribus]** the chief men, principal citizens. WL remark on the way in which Livy gradually dropped the use of this word: in the first decade it occurs nearly 60 times, in the third less than 20, in the fourth perhaps only once, in the fifth twice.

laetus ac libens] a ceremonial formula, cp. Plautus Trin. 822 *Neptuno laetus lubens laudes ago et grates*. In inscriptions the words were simply denoted by the letters L.L., cp. Wilmanns, Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum, Nos. 1569, 1572, 2266.

Chapter VIII

1 **Ninnios...Pacuviumque]** the two brothers were named Sthenius Ninnius Celer and Pacuvius Ninnius Celer.

inclutos] another poetical word adopted by Livy.

2 **ante**] 2 § 2 foll.

princeps...Poenos] cp. XXXII. 19 § 2 *principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res; rem* (or *res*) *trahere ad* 'intrigue to hand over the state to.'

3 **ferocissime...steterat**] 'had made a most spirited stand'; see note on 7 § 7.

patria maiestas] 'the weighty authority of a father': it must be remembered that the Roman father had almost unlimited power over his family, including, under certain restrictions, the *ius vitae necisque.*

4 **deprecando magis quam purgando**] 'by deprecating resentment for his fault rather than by excusing it.'

5 **hospites**] his hosts, the two Celeres.

Tauream] his full name was Cerrinus Vibellius Taurea, cp. 46 § 12. When Capua fell in 211 he committed suicide after killing his wife and children, XXVI. 15 §§ 11—15.

6 **de die**] 'by day,' i.e. before the working day is over: *prandium* lunch and *cena* dinner were fused into one prolonged orgy of eating and drinking: this was called *tempestivom convivium*: cp. Terence Ad. 965 *adparare de die convivium*, Catullus XLVII. 5 *vos convivia lauta sumptuose | de die facitis?*, Silius Ital. XI. 41 *medioque dierum | regales epulae atque ortu convivia solis | deprensa.*

et...esse] this abrupt introduction of an historic infinitive in the middle of finite clauses is characteristic of Livy: for other instances with *esse*, cp. I. 27 § 7 *miraculo primo esse Romanis*, II. 53 § 3 *intra vallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse*, V. 46 § *Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque silentium esse*, 47 § 11 *inde intentiones utrimque custodiae esse*; and cp. below 16 § 10 *Hannibali...primo miraculo esse.*

ex more Punico] *ex more* does not occur in Caesar and perhaps not in Cicero, but is found in poetry and later prose.

diti] the forms *dis*, *ditis*, etc. belong to poetry and the later prose, but the nominative is rare, cp. Terence Ad. 770.

7 **interdum**] 'now and then': this use of *interdum* must be distinguished from the more common meaning 'meanwhile.' Hannibal more than once pressed the youth to drink.

patre...causante] the son pleaded weak health, the father made further excuse that his son was not unnaturally under the influence of mental agitation. *causante* equivalent to *excusante*: the word *causari* is not quoted from any prose author before Livy.

8 **posticis aedium partibus**] local ablative 'in the back premises.' The back door of the house, on the opposite side to the front door, usually opened into a courtyard or garden (*hortus* or *viridarium*). See Livy's description XLV. 6 § 4 of the escape of king Perseus *rex ipse nocte media cum tribus consciis fugae per posticum aedium in propincum cubiculo hortum atque inde maceriam aegre transgressus ad mare pervenit.*

9 **quod defecimus**] explanatory of *peccati*, cp. 7 § 6 *malum facinus quod...defecissent.*

impetrare...fuimus] the text of this sentence cannot be determined with certainty, see Appendix.

10 **quidnam**] dependent on *quaereret*, though *mirabundus* might be followed by a dependent interrogative as in XXV. 37 § 12 *mirabundique unde tot hostes subito exorti forent.*

toga] the student should refer to some diagram of the *toga* with a description of the mode in which it was made and worn. By throwing off the end which passed over the chest from the right to the left shoulder the youth Calavius exposed to view the dagger on his right side.

11 **patratur**] 'is being perpetrated.'

Chapter IX

2 **te**] *per* does not govern the nearer accusative *te* but the more remote *iura*. This is a common order in adjurations. "I beg and intreat you by all the customary ties that bind children to parents."

facere et pati] cp. II. 12 § 9 *et facere et pati fortia Romanum est*, Hor. Od. III. 24. 43 *magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet | quidvis et facere et pati.*

3 **paucae...quas**] 'there are only a few hours within which,' i.e. 'it is only a few hours ago.'

per quidquid deorum est] cp. II. 5 § 7 *quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset*, 35 § 5 *quidquid erat patrum*, Hor. Epod. 5. 1 *at o deorum quidquid in caelo regit.*

dextrae dextras iungentes] the clasping of hands was of solemn significance in covenants or other formal undertakings. It was a part of the ceremonial of Roman marriage. The modern handshake is a degenerate survival.

sacratas fide manus] as the clasping of hands adds sanctity to the

pledge, so the taking of the pledge places a sacred obligation of loyalty on the hands that clasp.

ut...armaremus] *ut* introduces an impossible supposition put interrogatively: "did we do it only that we should quit the interview and forthwith arm against him the very hands that the pledge had sanctified?" I do not think this impossible in a speech where the tone of the speaker would show that the expression was not an ordinary final clause; but see Madvig, de Fin. II. 61, Emend. Liv., p. 317.

4 **tertius Campanorum**] with two other Campanians, his father and Vibellius Taurea.

cruentares] the imperfect is slightly irregular after the present *surgis*: see Appendix.

5 **sit...audeantur**] concessive subjunctives 'granted that there is,' etc.

6 **in amentia illa**] 'in the event of,' 'in the case of this frenzied act.'

7 **ut alia auxilia desint**] 'supposing other help fails,' i.e. supposing there is no one else to come to the succour of Hannibal.

ferire...sustinebis] the infinitive after *sustinere* ('endure to,' 'have the heart to') is rare in classical prose, frequent in Ovid.

9 **medium conplectitur**] 'throws his arms around him.'

osculo haerens] 'closely embracing him.'

pervicit] the perfect indicative is most usual in reference to a past event after *ante* (*prius*) *quam*. See note on 30 § 4.

10 **quam...patri**] he means that if he is not allowed to kill Hannibal, which would be his way of showing due *pietas* to his country, he will, as a son, show his *pietas* to his father by obeying him.

tuam doleo vicem] 'I grieve on your account': *tuam vicem* is of course not governed by *doleo* but is an adverbial accusative, cp. Cicero de domo § 8 *mihi uni necesse erit et meam et aliorum vicem pertimescere*, Livy XXV. 38 § 3 *cogor vestram omnium vicem...unus consulere*, XXXIV. 32 § 6 *ne nostram vicem irascaris*.

11 **Capuae**] probably dative: a hindrance to the restoration of Capua.

mora atque impedimentum] there is no practical difference between these words: an accumulation of synonyms is a feature of the rhetorical style.

13 **maceriam**] the wall at the end of the garden abutting on open ground or a cross road, see note on 8 § 8.

se reddidit] a poetical expression: *ad convivium rediit* would be the ordinary language of prose. The picturesque and dramatic vividness of this narrative should be carefully observed.

Chapter X

1 **frequens**] 'largely attended,' 'crowded.' 'Hannibal was granted an audience in the senate which was crowded.' Could Hannibal address them in Latin? I do not know of any evidence on this point.

perblanda] the strengthening of adjectives by *per* is common enough, but *perblandus* seems to be rare.

amicitiam] see note on 43 § 14.

2 **magnifica**] 'extravagant,' 'high sounding.'

pollicitus] if *et inter* be read this is for *pollicitus est*, if *et* be omitted *pollicitus* is the participle.

iuraque inde petiturum] 'draw their jurisdiction thence,' 'go to Capua for their jurisdiction': cp. 5 § 13 *ex Africa...iura petere.*

3 **dici**] 'spoken of' (as such): not quite the same as *appellari* 'called.' On what grounds does Hannibal deny that Magius was a true Campanian? Perhaps because he presumably belonged to the Roman *gens* of the Decii and was therefore not of Greek, Etruscan or Samnite origin, which were the three main elements of the early population of Capua.

eum postulare] if the text is correct *eum* is the object of *postulare* and *se* (understood) is the subject. Instead of saying 'I demand his surrender to me' Hannibal says 'I demand him, to be surrendered to me.'

referatur] note that Livy in writing of the council or senate of Capua uses the special terms applicable to the proceedings of the Roman senate, such as *referre* (*ad senatum*), *senatus consultum*, *in sententiam ire.*

4 **in eam sententiam ierunt**] in a division (*discessio*) in the Roman senate those in favour of a motion walked one way, those against in another, as in our parliament the 'ayes' and the 'noes' pass through their respective lobbies.

haud parvo initio ..libertatis] 'they regarded it as a first step, and no slight one, in the infringement of their rights of freedom.'

5 **templo**] *templum* is any building or enclosure consecrated by the augurs. The *curia* itself was a *templum*, but here some erection such as an elevated platform *tribunal* is indicated. Again here as elsewhere Livy has the Roman institutions in view.

destitutum] 'with no one to support him.' WM qu. II. 12 § 8 *ante tribunal regis destitutus.*

6 **id cogi posse**] the subject of *posse* is *se* (not expressed) and *id* is a kind of cognate accusative 'in that respect,' cp. VI. 15 § 13 *vos id cogendi estis*.

lictorem] some official in Hannibal's retinue. Livy uses a familiar Roman term.

7 **capite aperto**] the editors make no comment on this. It is probable that at this period of Roman history free citizens wore the *pilleus*, and to assume the *pilleus* was one of the signs of the emancipation of a slave, cp. XXIV. 32 § 9 *servi ad pilleum vocati*. It is implied here that Magius was made to go bareheaded as a sign that he was not regarded as a free citizen. Under the later republic it was usual for citizens to wear nothing on the head.

contionabundus] 'haranguing all the while': the origin of these verbal adjectives which in sense are almost equivalent to present participles is obscure. *Contionabundus* sometimes takes an accusative, V. 29 § 10 *haec contionabundus*, XXV. 13 § 4 *vitabundus castra*.

8 **capta Capua**] 'if Capua were taken' = *si Capua caperetur*.

9 **obvolutum**] 'muffled.'

10 **legatione missa**] 'if a deputation were sent.'

negando...peterent] 'by refusing their first request': *negando* is equivalent to *si negaret* as *tribuendo* is to *si tribueret*.

offendendi sibi novi socii] 'he' (i.e. Hannibal) 'should offend his new allies.' The general sense is that Hannibal sent Magius away to Carthage, arguing that if he kept him a prisoner in Italy the Campanians might repent of having surrendered him and ask for his release, in which case he would have to refuse their request—the first that they made; whereas if he granted their request and sent Magius back Capua would retain a dangerous agent of sedition.

11 **Cyrenas**] Cyrene had ceased to be a republic and was now 'under the rule of kings,' being subject to the Ptolomies of Egypt. It was founded by settlers from the island of Thera 630. It was "the only Greek colony on the coast of Africa which attained to eminence and wealth" (Bury).

Ptolomaei regis] Ptolomaeus IV called Philopator 221—205. It was usual for suppliants to clasp the statue of a god, cp. Aesch. Eum. 79 *μολὼν δὲ Παλλάδος ποτὶ πτόλιν | ἵζου παλαιὸν ἄγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας*. The Ptolomies as successors of the Pharaohs claimed divinity. For a similar custom at Rome WM refer to Tacitus An. III. 36 *arrepta imagine Caesaris*.

13 **nec**] equivalent to *et...non*. 'Magius said that Capua was not a safe place for him': *dicere* is historic infinitive.

transfugae] though not actually a deserter he would feel like one after abandoning Capua on its occupation by Hannibal.

vindicem] 'champion.'

CHAPTER XI

1 **Q, Fabius Pictor**] for his appointment as a delegate to Delphi cp. XXII. 57 § 5. He wrote in Greek a history of Rome from the beginning to his own times. It should be noted that the early historians of Rome all wrote in Greek because Latin prose was not sufficiently developed to be of any use for continuous narrative. The first to write history in Latin prose was M. Porcius Cato, born 234.

divi...supplicaretur] 'there were stated in it the gods and goddesses to whom, and in what way, a supplication should be offered,' or more freely 'the answer stated what gods and goddesses should have a supplication offered them and in what manner': *quibus* and *quo modo* are two dependent interrogatives.

2 **faxitis**] *faxo* an old form of the future perfect of *facio* for *facso*, the future suffix *so* (Greek σω) being added to the stem. These forms are generally found in the old language of rites and ceremonies, cp. XXII. 10, where in a speech of the pontifex maximus the words *faxit*, *faxitur*, *clepsit* occur. And see below the old-fashioned imperatives *mittitote*, etc.

victoriaque duelli] *duelli*, an old form of *belli*, is locative, 'victory in the war.' This form of *bellum* survives in Italian 'duello,' French and English 'duel.'

3 **lucris meritis**] 'the gains you have earned.'

deque] 'yea, from': the clause appended by *que* is merely an amplification of the preceding *de lucris meritis*.

praeda manubiis spoliisque] these words, so far as they differ from one another, may be particularised as (i) 'booty,' i.e. the property of the conquered, cattle, produce, and other goods and chattels; (ii) money derived from the sale of property (and usually appropriated by the commanders), 'prize-money'; (iii) 'spoils,' mainly arms and other military equipment. But it must be remembered that it was a feature of the Latin language to accumulate words of almost identical meaning, especially in religious and ceremonial phraseology.

lasciviam] 'wantonness,' 'insubordination.'

4 **carmine**] the oracular response was probably delivered in a metrical form, though *carmen* does not necessarily imply verse.

rem...fecisse] *facere*, with or without such an addition as *rem divinam*, means to offer sacrifice and takes the ablative of the thing offered, cp. Vergil Ecl. III. 77 *cum faciam vitula pro frugibus ipse venito.*

6 **religione**] 'scrupulousness.'

ara Apollinis] the temple of Apollo, consecrated 431, cp. IV. 29 § 7, was situated between the forum holitorium and the circus Flaminius. Apollo was worshipped in Rome at this early period mainly as a god of health, and was regarded as a Greek rather than a Roman deity.

supplicationesque] the *supplicatio* was a public service of prayer to certain gods, which was sometimes continued for two or three days. All classes of the population could take part in it. There was usually a *lectisternium* in connexion with it.

cum cura] cp. 31 § 15 *ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata*: the *cum* here is necessary, the modal ablative *cura* not being used as *more*, *iure*, *ratione*, etc. often are without a preposition. On the other hand, the *cum* before *summa religione* in the previous sentence may stand, but is not necessary.

7 **ex ipsa acie**] 'straight from the battlefield,' cp. Caesar B.C. II. 10 *opus ad ipsam turrem perficiunt*, 'right up to the tower': sometimes the word 'just' will render this use of *ipse*, cp. Seneca Ep. 56 § 1 *supra ipsum balneum habito*, 'I live just over the bath.'

recipiendis] 'taking over,' i.e. receiving into submission, cp. I. 38 § 2 *deditisne vos...in meam populique Romani dicionem? dedimus. at ego recipio.*

Bruttiorum] cp. XXII. 16 § 12 where a list is given of all the Italian tribes that revolted to Hannibal. Above, 1 § 4, Mago is spoken of as engaged in taking over the surrendered towns of the Hirpini.

8 **senatus datus**] cp. 10 § 1.

quattuor consules] Livy's enumeration is perplexing. Six consuls were concerned with Hannibal's invasion—P. Cornelius Scipio and Ti. Sempronius Longus of 218, Cn. Servilius Geminus and C. Flaminius of 217, and L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro of 216. Of these Livy apparently omits Scipio, who did not actually fight a pitched battle with Hannibal. This leaves five. WM suggest that Livy also omits Sempronius, who commanded at the battle of the Trebia, as not being a man of any signal distinction, but this explanation seems hardly

satisfactory. The two *imperatores*, apart from the four consuls, are the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus and his Master of Horse M. Minucius Rufus; but it is hardly consistent of Livy to reckon Fabius with those with whom Hannibal *acie conflixit*, when, as he himself says in § 10, *dictatorem quia se in aciem numquam commiserit*, etc.

sex consularibus exercitibus] apparently the armies of the six consuls of the years 218—216; if this is correct the six consular armies are not to be exactly connected with the six *imperatores* mentioned above.

9 **duos occidisse**] C. Flaminius at the Trasimene lake, and L. Aemilius at Cannae.

saucium alterum] this seems to mean Servilius, but where are we told that he was wounded during his consulship? If Livy refers to Scipio, then the *quattuor consules* of this sentence are apparently not the same as the four of the previous sentence.

alterum...effugisse] Varro, who fled with the fifty horsemen to Venusia, cp. Introduction, p. i.

10 **quae consularis potestas sit**] the magister equitum ranked after the higher magistracies, coming next to the praetor, and the office is therefore rather incorrectly designated by Mago as a *consularis potestas*. According to Cicero Leg. III. 3 § 9, his *potestas* was *praetoria*. MM II. 159.

fusum fugatum] this collocation of words of similar meaning is common, but the copula is often used as in 37 § 5 *fudit fugavitque*.

11 **Bruttios...Poenos**] cp. XXII. 61 § 11.

caput...sit] Mago says that Capua *is* the head of Italy: Hannibal at Capua, 10 § 2, said that it would shortly become so.

12 **tantis totque**] *tot tantisque* would be more in accordance with Latin usage.

verum] 'fair,' 'right.'

grates deis...agi haberique] another ceremonial expression; *grates* is never used by Caesar and rarely by Cicero. Caesar never speaks of rendering thanks, *gratias agere*, to the gods, but twice uses the expression 'feel gratitude to fortune,' *gratiam habere fortunae*.

Chapter XII

1 **ad fidem**] 'to attest,' 'by way of attesting.'

vestibulo] probably a raised paved court outside the main entrance to the building.

qui] by attraction for *quorum*.

metientibus] 'when they measured them,' ablative; but it might possibly be dative. On the text of this passage see Appendix.

modios] a *modius* was approximately equal to two gallons or a quarter bushel.

2 **tenuit**] cp. I. 4 § 6 *tenet fama*, XXI. 46 § 10 *fama obtinuit*: so 'obtain' is sometimes used intransitively in English.

propior vero] the adjectival forms *propior* and *proximus* are usually followed by the dative in Livy, but the adverbs *propius* and *proxime* by the accusative, cp. § 3 *propius spem*, except in the phrase *propius vero*. DHS I. 588.

atque eorum ipsorum primores] 'and of them only the chief men.' Whether this refers to the *equites equo publico*, those who had a horse furnished by the state, is uncertain. Nor is it by any means certain that at the time of the Punic wars any *equites* except those that were senators had the right of wearing the gold ring. About 100 senators were killed in the battle of Cannae, and the collection of their rings may have been the foundation of the story.

3 **sit**] the subject is Hannibal.

4 **frumenti et pecuniae**] see Appendix.

et tot acies...minuisse] 'and that so many pitched battles, while they had destroyed the armies of the enemy, had also diminished to some extent the forces of the victor': *ut...ita* is almost equivalent to 'though'...'yet.' For the use of the infinitive (*delesse*) in an adverbial clause cp. Roby § 1784, DHS II. 408: cp. II. 13 § 8 *et prae se ferre, quem ad modum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam inviolatam ad suos remissurum*.

5 **in stipendium**] for the pay of the troops. Armies in ancient and medieval times could never be sure of getting their pay with any regularity.

6 **factionis Barcinae**] the war party, so named after Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal. This family possessed a kind of supremacy in the councils of Carthage, and their position towards the government is compared by Mommsen to that of the Princes of Orange towards the States General. Hanno led the peace party; see XXI. 10, where a furious tirade against Hannibal is put into his mouth.

dedi] according to Livy XXI. 10 § 3 Hanno had actually recommended this—*censeo legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui...ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant*.

8 **patres conscripti**] Livy applies to the Carthaginian senate a form of address that could only be properly applied to the Roman senate.

9 **superbus aut obnoxius**] 'arrogant or subservient.'

10 **inquit**] 'he continued.'

paenitere] for the personal use of this word cp. I. 35 § 5 *sub haud paenitendo duce*, XXXVI. 22 § 3 *Aetolos...si paenitere possint posse et incolumes esse*: the order is *me non desisse paenitere belli* 'that I have not ceased to regret the war.'

15 **ne omnia ipse mirer**] 'that I may not alone feel surprise at everything': the point of the remark is obscure. Hanno apparently means that he does not wish to go on by himself wondering at this and that, but proposes to ask some direct questions which may result in his opponents being equally surprised.

ius fasque] the two words are often united; so far as they differ *ius* denotes concrete human law, *fas* the unwritten law of nature, or abstract right.

16 **Latini nominis**] the 'Latin Name' was a general expression for the Latin federated communities and colonies, and is frequently found in connexion with *socii*, cp. XXII. 57 § 10 *ad socios Latinumque nomen*.

quinque et triginta tribubus] the number of Roman tribes was raised to 35 in 241.

17 **hostium...superest**] 'so far as the enemy then are concerned there is a pretty good number still left': this prepositional use of *ergo* with a genitive preceding it is poetical and archaic, and therefore attractive to Livy, cp. XXV. 12 § 15 *victoriae non valetudinis ergo*; Lucr. V. 1246 *hostibus intulerant ignem formidinis ergo*.

Chapter XIII

2 **bellum...qua die**] 'then we have made no more progress with the war than we had on the day that' etc. *integrum* 'fresh,' 'intact,' cp. II. 62 § 5 *integro inde decedens bello*, XXI. 29 § 6 *integro bello*.

3 **quam varia victoria**] 'how victory swayed from side to side.'

qui meminerimus] *qui* is 'generic': lit. 'many such of us as remember are still alive'; more freely 'many of us are still alive to remember.'

4 **ad Aegatis insulas**] the battle was fought near the island of Aegusa (now Favignano) off the west point of Sicily 10 March 241. It should be remembered that the consuls entered on office on 15 March, hence,

though the battle was fought in March 241, it is rightly described as taking place in the consulship of C. Lutatius and A. Postumius, who were the consuls of 242.

aliquid] 'in some degree,' accusative denoting 'the extent of action' of the verb, cp. Roby § 1094.

variaverit] for the intransitive use of *vario* cp. 5 § 8 *variante fortuna*, XXI. 28 § 5 *variat memoria*, XXII. 36 § 1 *variant auctores.*

5 **refertis**] *referre* was the usual word for bringing a question before the Roman senate.

victoribus] (to the Carthaginians) 'if they are victorious': *frustrantibus* 'if they are deceiving us.'

6 **simultas**] cp. XXI. 10 § 11 where Hanno is made to say *scio meam levem esse in eo auctoritatem propter paternas inimicitias.*

animi...auribus admittebant] a bold expression, the mind being put for the person; cp. the use of *sententia* 'opinion' or 'vote' for the person expressing the opinion.

adniti paulum] 'make a little fresh effort': the same phrase is found in XXI. 8 § 8.

8 **dictatorque**] on the text of this passage see Appendix: *dictator* is not a natural term to apply to a Carthaginian official, nor would Livy have been likely to omit the official's name.

qui...erant] this use of the indicative in explanatory clauses inserted in subordinate sentences is fairly common in Livy and is found in Caesar.

Chapter XIV

1 **ut in secundis rebus**] 'things being favourable,' 'as usually happens when things are favourable': WL appropriately quote XXI. 61 § 2 *quod ferme fit ut secundae res neglegentiam creent*, and cp. 27 § 3.

consul] M. Terentius Varro.

2 **M. Iunius Pera**] his election is mentioned XXII. 57 § 9. Livy here repeats, in a different form, and apparently drawing on a different authority, the account that he there gives of the raising of fresh troops. Iunius is said to have been the last dictator appointed for military purposes, *rei gerundae causa.*

lato] 'a motion having been brought': for the construction *lato ut liceret* cp. VI. 25 § 5 *permisso ut optaret*, IX. 6 § 5 *impetrato ut sineret.*

ut solet] apparently we have no other authority for the statement that the dictator had to get permission from the people to mount on horseback. Permission had also to be given by the senate. The reason for the need of such authorisation is that the dictator was regarded as the leader of the infantry forces of the republic, and as an infantry officer he had no right to be mounted. He had to appoint a *magister equitum* to command the cavalry.

praeter...legiones] 'in addition to (calling out) the two urban legions.' The *legiones urbanae*, two, and sometimes four, in number, were used as a reserve force and to train recruits for the field armies. Their chief duty was to guard the capital. WM, in their Appendix, summarise the results attained by T. Steinwender in his investigation of the history of these urban legions.

servorum dilectum] cp. XXII. 57 § 11. Iunius levied 8000 slaves; as they severally professed their willingness to serve they were called *volones* 'volunteers,' cp. 32 § 1.

agro Piceno et Gallico] the *Picenus ager* was a district bordering the Adriatic and extending approximately from Ancona to Adria. North-west of this district was the *Gallicus ager* in Umbria, extending as far as Ariminum. It was so called because the Senones, a Gallic tribe, originally occupied the territory.

ad ultimum...descendit] 'took refuge in the final resource of a state reduced almost to the last extremity, when honour yields to self-interest.'

3 **capitalem fraudem**] 'a capital offence,' an offence involving loss of *caput* or civil rights.

pecuniae iudicati] the genitive in these legal phrases depends on some such word as *crimine* or *iudicio*, cp. Roby § 1325, 1327. These persons were 'adjudged debtors' and were handed over (*addicti*) to their creditors to be kept in custody (*in vinculis*) till the claim was satisfied.

qui...fierent] a further limitation of the two classes just mentioned, 'such of them as should serve with him.'

noxa pecuniaque] *noxa* refers back to *capitalem fraudem ausi* and *pecunia* to *pecuniae iudicati*. *noxa* may be (*a*) the guilty act or (*b*) the penalty for the act, the two meanings shading into each other.

4 **spoliis**] arms and other military equipment: cp. XXII. 57 § 10 *vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque*.

triumpho] 'at the triumph'; the omission of *in* is rare.

C. Flamini] he triumphed over the Insubrian Gauls in his consulship 223, cp. Plut. Marc. 4 who says that he returned to Rome *μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων.*

tralata] 'paraded': *transferre* is the usual word for the display of spoils of war in a public procession; cp. XXXVII. 58 § 4 *in eo triumpho undequinquaginta coronae aureae translatae sunt.*

viginti quinque milibus] the composition of this force may be roughly estimated as follows: two urban legions 8000, slaves 8000, criminals 6000, allies 3000. It is almost impossible to reconcile this account of the dictator's levy with the previous account given in XXII. 57; the two narratives are no doubt drawn from different sources, and Livy has been at no pains to harmonise them.

5 **recepta**] for this use of *recipere* 'receive into submission,' cp. 11 § 7.

iterum] the first occasion is mentioned in 1 § 5.

agrum Nolanum] Nola, on the via Latina N.E. of Vesuvius and about 20 miles S.E. of Capua, was a *civitas foederata*: cp. 44 § 1 where Herennius Bassus speaks of the long-standing friendship between Rome and Nola, and see Introduction, p. xxii.

6 **ut...ita**] 'though...yet': with *hostiliter* it is easy to supply some such future participle as *aggressurus.*

7 **senatus**] used here as elsewhere of a provincial town council; the council, and especially the councillors of higher rank (*primores*), were loyal to Rome.

novarum...tota esse] the phrase *tota esse novarum rerum* 'to be wholly on the side of change,' which is harsh in itself, is softened by the proximity of the personal genitive *Hannibalis.*

metumque...animo] note that 'to set before one's mind the hardships to be endured' is a natural phrase, but 'to set before one's mind the fear of devastation' is less natural, and we should have expected *metuendam populationem.* The harshness of the expression is diminished by the fact that the gerundival construction is the nearer to *proponere animo.*

8 **si propalam tenderent**] 'by open opposition.'

secunda simulando] 'by professing a favourable attitude'; but the text is uncertain, see Appendix.

9 **foedus**] supply *novom* from the following *novam.* Nola was already bound by a *foedus* to Rome.

10 **praetorem**] the number of praetors had been raised from two to

four in 227. Marcellus was one of the two extra praetors appointed in 216, and was to command in Sicily, cp. xxii. 35 § 6 *additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius Albinus in Galliam*. Marcellus, in his consulship 222, triumphed over the Insubrian Gauls (who had also been defeated in the previous year by C. Flaminius, cp. § 4) and slew their leader Virdomarus, thus gaining the *spolia opima*, cp. Propertius iv. 10. 39 *Claudius Eridanum traiectos arcuit hostes | Belgica cui vasti parma relata ducis | Virdomari*. At the time of the battle of Cannae he was in command of the fleet at Ostia, and was commissioned to go to Canusium to take over the command of the army, xxii. 57 § 1. From there he had apparently followed Hannibal to the Volturnus.

Casilini] now Capua, on the Volturnus where the via Latina and the via Appia join and cross the river. Ancient Capua, the site of which is now occupied by the town of S. Maria di Capua Vetere, was destroyed by the Saracens in the ninth century.

11 **ubi velint defecturos se**] the senate said to the people 'we will go over when you wish' *ubi vultis deficiemus*, and so brought it about that the people were in no great hurry to go over.

13 **Caiatiam**] now Cajazzo, about 10 miles N.E. of Casilinum. From there Marcellus turned S.E., crossing the Volturnus, to Saticula now S. Agata, and through the ager Trebulanus somewhere between the pass of Durazzano and the via Appia, and so past the village of S. Felice on the hills east of Suessula to Nola. I take this description of his route from Kromayer-Veith iii. p. 396.

Chapter XV

1 **sub**] used of time means 'close to' a particular time, either 'just before' or 'just after'; here it is the latter, so in 16 § 3 *sub adventum hostium*.

proxime] see note on 12 § 2.

cupidus...potiundi] this seems to have been Hannibal's third attempt to secure a harbour on the Mediterranean coast, unless Livy, following a different authority, is giving a fresh account of an attempt already recorded.

2 **praefecto**] 'officer in charge.'

Nuceriam] now Nocera, a few miles E. of Pompeii: it was a *civitas foederata*. Did Hannibal march by the coast road through Herculaneum and Pompeii or round to the east of Vesuvius?

3 **vi...sollicitandis...principibus**] for the sake of variety Livy expresses the two methods of action by a substantive and by a gerundival construction, cp. XXII. 14 § 14 *sedendo aut votis*.

nunc...nunc] cp. § 7, in earlier prose writers this would have been *modo...modo*; cp. Lucr. II. 130 *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*, imitated by Vergil Aen. IV. 285.

nequiquam] 'though in vain.' Livy means that neither force of arms nor solicitation was of any avail, only famine compelled surrender.

pactus] it is so doubtful whether *paciscor* can be used of the person who imposes a condition on others that *pactos* (agreeing with *Nolanos* understood) has been suggested. The meaning would then be that they bargained for their life on the condition of going away without arms and with only one garment apiece. *pactus* will mean 'having made an arrangement with them that they should go,' etc.

cum singulis vestimentis] cp. XXI. 12 § 5 *egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis*, which Mr Dimsdale generously interprets 'with a single change of raiment.' I take it to mean with only the garments they had on; so XXII. 6 § 11, 52 § 3. This seems to have been a common condition of ancient warfare.

4 **qui remanserint**] for *eis qui*: the distinction of tense between *remanserint* and *voluissent* may be represented thus in English: 'he offered rewards to those who shall remain and who should be willing to serve under his command': the pluperfect *voluisset* is usual after such a phrase as *praemia proposuit*, cp. Caesar B. G. VII. 27 *eis qui primi murum ascendissent praemia proposuit*.

5 **nec ea spe**] almost equivalent to *ne ea quidem spe*, cp. 18 § 4 *nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustinuit*; Kühner II. 2 p. 44.

fortuitus animi impetus] 'chance impulse,' cp. XXII. 50 § 12 *impetu animorum*, XXV. 21 § 5 *impetu fortuito*, followed by *quo loco ipsorum tulisset animus*; thus *animus* or *animi impetus* is used for a sudden impulse resulting in a particular course of action.

6 **portas**] the gates of Nuceria: Hannibal would not receive in Capua people who had closed their gates against him.

Nuceriae] probably genitive not locative.

7 **metus a praetore**] the preposition is often used with expressions of fear to denote the quarter from which the fear comes, cp. 36 § 1 *ab Hannibale metuens*, XXV. 33 § 5 *simul ne metus quidem ab Romanis erat*: Tacitus prefers *ex*, cp. Ann. XI. 20 *metus ex imperatore, contemptio ex barbaris*.

si...defuisset] 'should have failed' or 'should fail.'

8 **seminecem**] a word peculiar to poetry and later prose.

benigne] this belongs to *curatum* 'kindly tended,' not to *remiserat.*

9 **ius dicionemque**] the two words are often thus combined into one phrase denoting 'complete subjection.'

10 **adsumpsisse...maluit**] 'preferred to have attached'; we should say 'preferred to attach.'

11 **nemo civis**] with the name of a person in the nominative case *nemo* is used and not *nullus*.

12 **multos...sit oppressus**] the sequence of tenses should be noticed here. The actual words of the speaker were somewhat as follows: *multi qui cum te stipendia fecerunt referunt mihi qui vir sis* ('you are') *quaeque...adieris* (perfect subjunctive 'you have encountered') *utique...abstiteris* (aoristic perfect subjunctive 'you desisted')...*sis oppressus* ('you were overwhelmed').

14 **macte virtute esto**] 'be happy with your valour'; 'a blessing on your valour': *macte* may be an adverb or the vocative of *mactus*, cp. Conway on II. 12 § 14.

15 **senties**] supply *eo magis*: this curtailment is more common in Tacitus than in Livy, cp. Hist. II. 11 *quo plus virium ac roboris, e fiducia tarditas inerat*, and see Conway on Livy II. 19 § 10.

eam rem] *ea res* seems to refer to his worth and valour, but WM take it to mean 'your association with me.'

bigatos] the *denarius*, bearing the impression of a *biga*, two-horsed chariot. The *denarius* was first coined 269 and was worth $8\frac{1}{2}$*d.*, the gift therefore amounted to about £18. Sometimes the coin bore the impression of a *quadriga* and was called *quadrigatus*, cp. XXII. 52 § 3.

quaestorem] the financial official, 'paymaster,' attached to the praetor's staff.

Chapter XVI

1 **hac comitate Marcelli**] the story, whether true or false, illustrates the diplomatic ability and resourcefulness that helped to build up the Roman Empire.

iuverit] the aoristic perfect emphasising the past fact that no one did assist, etc. According to DHS I[2] § 133 Livy has 69 instances of this perfect, a smaller proportion than is found in Nepos and Suetonius.

Caesar has five instances in the Bellum Gallicum: cp. Riemann Lat. Synt.[4] § 197.

3 **adventum]** 'approach'; for *sub* see note on 15 § 1.

multis in eam imminentibus] probably dative not ablative absolute, 'to the great number who were on the look-out for it'; for the construction of *imminere in* the editors quote XXV. 20 § 5 *in alteram ducis exercitusque opprimendi occasionem imminebat.*

4 **instrui...acies coeptae]** when the verb 'to begin' (*coepisse*) is followed by a passive infinitive, the subject of *coepisse* not being itself the initiating agent, the passive of *coepisse* is generally used; exceptions are chiefly found in poetry and later prose; Livy occasionally breaks the rule as in XXIV. 19 § 6 *ab duobus consulibus Casilinum oppugnari coepit.*

parva...et vario eventu] 'few and with varying issue.'

5 **statione]** 'waiting attitude.'

6 **staret]** 'had taken up its position': I adopt this reading in default of a better.

7 **priusquam...oreretur]** 'to forestall the breaking out of some disturbance in the town.'

8 **vallum]** from *vallus* 'a stake'; the collective singular used for the plural.

robora legionum] 'the main strength of his legions'; probably comprising the *legio classica* XXII. 57 § 8 and 4000 foot and 200 horse who had assembled at Canusium 52 § 4, the total being thus about two legions. Besides this trained force we are told here that Marcellus had some recruits, some light-armed men and some allied cavalry, but no numbers are given.

duabus circa portis] 'at the two outside gates,' viz. the gate to the right, and the gate to the left, of the central gate *media porta.*

9 **destinata]** 'were told off': the text is probably corrupt, see Appendix.

10 **sub signis]** it is not known what the *signa* were in Hannibal's army nor how they were arranged.

esse] for the historic infinitive *esse* see note on 8 § 6.

11 **resides]** 'inactive': the word suggests 'sitting down' and doing nothing, cp. XXV. 6 § 21 *clamorem pugnantium...exaudimus resides ipsi ac segnes.* It occurs mostly in poetry and is very rarely found in the singular.

si...moturam] Hannibal said to himself *si...instabo...plebs movebit.*

12 **in**] 'about' or 'after': the construction follows the general sense of *discursu trepidant* 'while they are eagerly hurrying hither and thither in pursuance of their respective tasks.'

ad prima signa] the Roman *signa* at this time were the standards of the maniples, and by *prima signa* are meant the standards of the *hastati* who formed the first line of maniples. The *signum* was the figure of some animal (eagle, wolf, minotaur, horse, or boar) attached to a long staff. I take the preposition *ad* to denote place or proximity, 'in the first ranks,' 'in the first line'; WM connect it, wrongly I think, with *trepidant*, comparing *ad arma trepidantes* IX. 37 § 9, which seems different. Lastly WL take *prima signa* to be 'the first signal,' and it is quite possible that this explanation may be right.

canere] 'to sound,' *signa* being the subject of *canere*.

possent] not *possint*, because *iubet*, historic present, is equivalent to a past tense.

13 **P. Valerius Flaccus**] he had been one of the envoys sent to Hannibal at Saguntum XXI. 6 § 8, mentioned again 34 and 38, and XXVI. 8.

C. Aurelius] perhaps a relation of M. Aurelius Cotta mentioned in 30. The gens Aurelia was of some importance at Rome, and many of them appear in the Fasti Consulares.

14 **ut fecerit**] 'so that it produced,' the aoristic perfect, see note on 15 § 12; the subject must be *clamor*, but perhaps *fecerint* should be read.

15 **ausim**] an old optative form representing the perfect subjunctive (cp. *sim* for *siem* = εἴην) presupposing a perfect *ausi* from *audeo*, cp. *faxim*, *duxim*, etc. The exact origin of these forms is doubtful.

quod] accusative 'as to which.'

16 **ingens...ac nescio an maxima**] cp. Cic. Fam. IX. 15 *est id quidem magnum atque haud scio an maximum* 'perhaps' or 'probably': Roby § 2256. Livy has no doubt overestimated the magnitude of this victory, see the valuable note of WM collecting the testimonies of other writers. Hesselbarth, p. 463, thinks that the exploit of Marcellus described in 46 was the groundwork of this exaggerated story and that Valerius Antias is the author from whom Livy takes it, but see Soltau quoted in Introduction, p. xxiv.

tunc difficilius] the text of this passage is very uncertain, see Appendix.

Chapter XVII

1 **Acerrae**, now Acerra, a town between Suessula and Neapolis, due west of Nola, cp. VIII. 17 § 12 *Romani facti Acerrani lege ab L. Papirio lata quo civitas sine suffragio data* B.C. 332.

2 **securi percussit**] the usual phrase for execution.

3 **senatui**] the senate and the leading citizens of Nola supported the Roman alliance, 14 § 7.

supra Suessulam] the camp was probably placed on the height called Colle Cancello, just above Suessula, and near to the present railway station of Cancello. The position was strongly entrenched and fortified and was intended for permanent occupation.

4 **obstinatos in fide**] 'obstinately set on their allegiance,' 'firmly resolved to maintain their allegiance': for the construction cp. Cic. Att. I. 11 § 1 *voluntas obstinatior et in hac iracundia offirmatior.* See Appendix.

videt] *postquam* with the present indicative seems to denote a past action extending into the present, cp. XXI. 13 § 4 *postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes*, 30 § 5 *postquam multo maiorem partem itineris emensam cernant* where *cernant* represents *cernunt* in direct narrative.

5 **ceterum**] points back to *obstinatos*: resolute they were, but their strength was not equal to their resolution.

continuarentur] 'linked up.'

per intermissa munimenta] 'through the gaps in the lines.'

neclectasque custodias] 'through the neglected outposts,' meaning through the places where no outposts had been stationed.

6 **consilium aut error**] 'design or loss of direction.'

7 **Casilino**] see Appendix. Some editors follow P in reading *Casino.* The name survives in M. Cassino near S. Germano. It was on M. Cassino that S. Benedict established his famous monastery about 530 and instituted the Benedictine Rule.

laetis animis accipi] this conjectural reading (see Appendix) receives some support from I. 60 § 2 *liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere.*

nuntiassent] the subject is indefinite: 'people had brought word from Casilinum.'

8 **quingenti Praenestini**] in 19 § 17 the number of the garrison is given as 570, which, I suppose, includes the few Romans and Latins

here mentioned. Praeneste was an old Latin colony about 20 miles east of Rome, now Palestrina, known as the birthplace of the great musician Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Praeneste was bound to Rome by an *aequom foedus*, and had to furnish a contingent of troops. See Introduction, p. xxii.

paucis Romanis Latinique nominis] *paucis* agrees with *Romanis* and then takes a genitive, 'a few of the Latin name.'

9 **dilectu**] for this levy see XXII. 36 § 3, 38 § 1.

domo] 'from home,' viz. from Praeneste.

aliis] 'besides,' 'in addition'; not 'other' Romans, because the Praenestines were not Romans.

cum...irent] *cum* is here the conjunction, an unnecessary repetition of the previous *cum* before *Casilinum*; it is not a preposition governing *agmine*.

10 **Campanis**] probably the Campanian inhabitants of Casilinum; so WM, but WL take it to mean the inhabitants of Capua who had stirred up the people of Casilinum against the Praenestines.

cavendis...insidiis] 'now in avoiding, now in concocting, plots,' but *invicem* might mean 'mutually,' that is, each side was engaged in avoiding and concocting plots.

cis] 'this side of,' from the point of view of the writer, the side nearest Rome, the north side of the Volturnus.

11 **idque...Romani**] 'and that was the amount of the garrison that the Romans had at Casilinum.'

Perusina cohors] Perusia, now Perugia, an Etruscan town, obtained a thirty years' truce in 310 after the war in Etruria, and became a *civitas foederata* IX. 37 § 12. Note that *cohors* was not in the time of the Punic wars a division of the Roman legion, but the word was used to denote a contingent of troops furnished by an allied state, cp. 14 § 3.

12 **tam exigua...cincta**] 'a walled town which was so small and was flanked on one side by the river.' As WM point out, the river no doubt served in place of a wall, and therefore *moenia* as combined with *cincta* denotes rather the place than the actual wall.

Chapter XVIII

1 **Gaetulos**] a widespread race in N.W. Africa.

praefecto] 'an officer.'

2 **solitudo visa**] 'the place seemed deserted.'

concessum] the impersonal passive 'that there had been a retirement': tr. 'that fear had compelled an evacuation.'

moliri portas] 'force the gates.'

3 **cum...erumpunt**] an instance of the 'inverted *cum*-clause.' Such a normal sentence as 'when we had only just begun to play the rain came down' becomes, if thus inverted, 'we had only just began to play when down comes the rain.' In this construction the present tense is usual in the 'when'-clause in Latin as often in English, and a past tense in the first clause. In this sentence of Livy there is a present tense *parat* in the first clause which is unusual: Kühner II. 2 § 204. Some word denoting 'suddenness,' as here *repente*, often occurs in such clauses, cp. 32 § 7.

4 **robore virorum**] cp. 16 § 8 *robora legionum*; the words *maiore robore* seem to indicate increase of number and also of fighting efficiency, 'with a larger and stronger force.'

nec ipse] practically equivalent to *ne ipse quidem.*

5 **castris...oppositis**] *opponere castra* is to pitch a camp 'over against' some force or some place; here supply *hostibus*, cp. XXVII. 50 § 6 *castra quae in faucibus Umbriae opposita erant*, and see below § 6 *agmine elephantorum opposito*, viz. *erumpentibus* the sortie of the garrison.

ante ipsa moenia] 'just in front of the walls,' cp. 11 § 7.

7 **corona aurea muralis**] this was given to the first man who scaled the walls of a besieged town; it was made of gold and decorated with turrets; cp. XXVI. 48 where a dispute between the claimants for the honour is described.

proposita est...exprobrabat] notice the perfect followed by the imperfect after *postquam*: the former denotes an act completed in the past, the latter a more or less continuous action ('kept taunting'): cp. Caesar B.C. III. 59 *postquam non modo ordeum...herbaeque desectae* (were cut down) *sed etiam frons ex arboribus deficiebat* (was failing), Livy II. 7 § 3 *postquam illuxit nec quicquam hostium in conspectu erat.*

Sagunti] according to Valerius Antias, Saguntum was subdued by famine after a siege of eight months in 219, but Livy seems to think it was taken by storm. "The true story of the affair of Saguntum is lost beyond recall," Hesselbarth, p. 224.

8 **agi**] 'pushed forward': *agere* is applied by a sort of zeugma first to *vineae*, which were propelled on wheels, and then to *cuniculi*, in reference to which the word indicates going ahead by digging; cp. *agere sulcum* 'to drive a furrow.'

9 **propugnacula**] 'defences' or 'fenders' of various kinds to break the blows of the *aries*, battering ram, which was brought up to the walls under the shelter of the *vinea*.

10 **in tectis**] I imagine that the troops were 'billeted' on the inhabitants, but it would not be safe to assume that the householders were paid anything.

bonis] ablative dependent on the pair of adjectives *inexpertum atque insuetum*, though grammatically it can be taken only with *inexpertum*, as *insuetum* does not govern an ablative.

11 **perdidere**] 'demoralised.' WM point out that Polybius does not seem to be aware that Hannibal's troops were quartered in Capua, but though the fact of their wintering there is undoubtedly true, I suspect that the story, from whatever source derived, exaggerates the deteriorating effect of the luxury of Capua. Hannibal was too good a general to allow his army to be drained of its efficiency when his position was so critical.

ex insolentia] 'after being quite unused to them.'

12 **balineaque**] the long string of six substantives is lightened by closely connecting *balinea* with *scorta* by means of *que*. The frequent use of heated baths in place of open-air bathing was rightly regarded by the Romans as effeminate.

13 **duxisset**] Hannibal's policy in not marching on Rome immediately after Cannae has been the subject of criticism from his time (cp. XXII. 51) to the present. He was the best judge of the situation, and his decision was probably right.

14 **hercule**] the insertion of a colloquial interjection in an historical narrative, though strange, is not so unusual or surprising as it would be in an English author.

15 **redierunt**] to the country and the open life of the camp outside Casilinum.

scortis impliciti] 'clinging to girls.'

via] 'marching.'

excepit] 'fell to their lot': *excipere* means 'to take up,' 'come next in order,' 'succeed to': there is no single word in English quite corresponding to it.

tironum modo] this use of *modo* with genitive 'after the manner of,' 'like,' is mostly found in poetry and later prose, cp. Horace Od. IV. 2. 27 *ego apis Matinae more modoque*.

Chapter XIX

2 **oppugnatione**] a direct assault on the town, which Livy does not more particularly describe, had failed, and Hannibal had therefore instituted a blockade.

3 **Ti. Sempronius**] Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, master of horse to the dictator M. Iunius Pera, had been left in charge of the Roman forces during the absence of the dictator, who had gone on a special mission to Rome. The story makes it clear that he was stationed somewhere on the upper reaches of the Volturnus, perhaps at Caiatia, but the main Roman camp was at Teanum, cp. 24 § 5.

auspiciorum repetendorum] 'repeating the auspices,' to correct some error or informality: this must be distinguished from *renovare auspicia*, which means going through the whole process of taking the auspices over again: cp. 36 § 10, VIII. 30 § 2, IX. 39 § 1.

4 **Campanos...abscessisset**] 'fearing what the Campanians might do if the Roman garrison should withdraw.'

5 **adsidens tantum**] 'merely sitting down in front of.'

praedictum] here a substantive followed by the genitive *dictatoris*; if it had been the participle it would have been followed by *ab dictatore*.

nihil movebat] 'made no movement.'

quae...vincerent] 'of such a nature as to overcome.'

6 **praecipitasse se**] of course from the walls, the sense being made sufficiently clear by the context.

nuda] 'defenceless.'

7 **si...inportaret**] one might have expected *si importare vellet* or *importaturus esset*, but Livy seems to mean that Gracchus saw that he would have to fight 'whenever' ('if ever') he tried to introduce provisions: for this use of *si* with subjunctive denoting repetition of an action set forth as a condition, cp. Kühner II. 2 p. 398, Riemann, § 203.

8 **magistratum**] 'magistracy,' meaning the magistrates.

Casilinum] accusative of direction after *misit*, but WL take it as an adjective, agreeing with *magistratum*, which seems less likely.

9 **intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem**] notice the zeugma: the one act of attention is physical, the other mental: 'when the attention of all was fixed on the river and on the hope that the Roman messenger had inspired.'

11 **transverso vertice**] 'by cross currents.'

obnata] the strange word *obnasci* and the equally unusual *obarare* in § 14 are thought by Hesselbarth to show that Livy is here copying Caelius: contrast XXV. 17 § 2 *inter salicta innata ripis*.

12 **nuces**] the fact that Caelius is known to have used the word *nucerum* (gen. pl. of *nuces*) is another slight indication that Livy is here drawing on that author for his narrative. WM quote from Festus the statement that the Praenestines used to be called *nuculae* in consequence of this incident.

13 **lora**] 'leather straps.'

pellis] it was usual to have leather coverings for shields to keep them from tarnishing.

muribus] 'rats': it is said that 200 *denarii* was paid for a rat, Pliny N.H. VIII. § 222.

aggeribus infimis muri] presumably sloping banks of earth flanked the sides of the wall; on these banks plants of all kinds would be growing, and these were pulled up and eaten.

14 **hostes obarassent**] cp. note on § 11 *obnata*. As WM remark, it is difficult to see how or why the enemy ploughed just outside the walls of Casilinum, or how the inhabitants managed to sow seed in the ploughed ground with the enemy close at hand. They suggest the omission of *hostes*.

raporum] 'turnips.'

dum ea nascantur] 'till they grow up,' but *nascuntur* (read by some editors) 'while they grow up.'

16 **septunces auri**] seven-twelfths of one pound of gold, said to be equivalent to about £26. Gold bars, *lateres aurei*, were used up to the time of the second Punic war; gold coins were first struck in 217. The relative values of gold and silver varied at different times.

fide accepta] 'a solemn pledge having been given them.'

summa cum fide] 'in complete fulfilment of the pledge.'

17 **id verius**] Livy here rejects the story that Hannibal cut them down with his cavalry after they had been released. He is apparently thinking of some account of the taking of Nuceria followed by Appian, who says *τὸν δὲ δῆμον ἀπιόντα κατηκόντισαν*, so too Zonaras *πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κἀκείνων ἐφόνευσε*, see Hesselbarth, p. 465 foll.

minus dimidium] 'just less than a half,' 'nearly a half': *minus* and *plus* are often thus used without the usual comparative construction, cp. 46 §§ 4, 5 *hostium plus quinque milia* and *Romanorum minus mille*.

praetore] Praeneste appears to have had two officials called *praetores*, 'governors,' and the chief local functionaries of other provincial towns frequently had the same title; cp. Horace Sat. I. 5. 34 where we read that the *praetor* of Fundi had, like Anicius, previously been a clerk *scriba*: *Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter* | *linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae* | *praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque batillum*: cp. MM IV. 476.

18 **fuit**] not *est*, probably because the statue no longer existed.

velato capite] because persons offering or fulfilling vows kept their heads covered.

lamnae] dative after *inscripto*.

Fortunae] Fortuna was especially worshipped at Praeneste, where she was known as *Fortuna Iovis puer primigenia*. Her statue was no doubt one of the three *signa* here mentioned. The other two may be those of Jupiter Arcanus and Apollo, whose worship was associated at Praeneste with that of Fortuna. G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultur der Römer, p. 239.

Chapter XX

2 **senatus Romanus**] it is not clear to what extent the senate had the right of increasing pay or giving special rewards for military service. Mommsen says the right belonged to the general in command, and that this was an exceptional case as being an 'international' arrangement, Praeneste being a free state. He thinks the money may have come out of the local treasury. MM III. 2 p. 1122, but see LL II. 404.

duplex stipendium] after 217 the pay of the legionary was 5⅓ ases a day or 120 denarii a year.

cum] concessive 'though.'

non mutaverunt] 'they did not make the exchange': though they were offered the full Roman citizenship they preferred to remain members of an independent community.

3 **casus**] genitive after *fama*.

4 **Petelinos**] Petelia, now Strongoli, a town on the east coast of Bruttium a few miles north of the ancient Croton, now Cotrone.

uni ex Bruttiis] yet in 30 § 5 Livy says that Consentia was held for Rome, and on the other hand in XXII. 61 § 12 he says *defecere... Brutii omnes*.

ob...consilia] 'because Petelia had adopted a policy distinct from theirs.'

5 **cum...iussi sunt]** *cum* is strictly temporal here, hence the indicative: 'on being ordered.'

vestibulo curiae] for *vestibulum* cp. 12 § 1. The curia Hostilia in which the senate usually met at this period was probably situated on the north side of the comitium, on the site afterwards occupied by the curia Iulia, the erection of which was begun in 44, and where now stands the church of S. Adriano. For a full discussion of the whole subject see E. de Ruggiero, Il Foro Romano, p. 327 foll.

populo] the people assembled in the comitium could see and hear all that was going on in the vestibule of the senate house, which was probably approached by a flight of steps from the lower level of the comitium.

6 **M. Aemilio praetore]** this is an error which is repeated in 22 § 4. There was a M. Aemilius who was in command in Sicily in 218, cp. XXI. 49 § 6, and another M. Aemilius was praetor urbanus in 217, but there was no one of that name among the four praetors of 216 unless one of the two above-named (or some other Aemilius) was created praetor for the latter part of 216 in place of L. Postumius who was killed in battle with the Gauls.

fideque ad ultimum expleta] 'having fulfilled to the uttermost their pledge of loyalty.'

7 **renuntiata legatio]** cp. note on 6 § 3.

9 **consulendumque]** *que* is slightly adversative in sense and we should translate 'but'; so in a less marked degree *diemque* in 7 § 11.

10 **omnibus]** this use of the neuter ablative for *omnibus rebus* is probably not found in Cicero or Caesar; it is fairly common in Livy.

CHAPTER XXI

2 **T. Otacili]** he was one of the praetors of 217 and was propraetor in charge of Sicily in 216, cp. XXII. 10 § 10, 37 § 13.

P. Furium] P. Furius Philo, one of the praetors of 216, was in command of the fleet, cp. XXII. 57 § 8. Nothing is said there of a naval expedition to Africa, but in XXII. 31 Livy describes a descent on the coast of Africa made by the consul Cn. Servilius Geminus with a fleet of 100 ships which returned to Lilybaeum and was handed over to T. Otacilius. I suspect that Livy is here referring to that expedition.

3 **novis praetoribus]** the praetors shortly to be appointed for 215.

4 **Mammula]** he was one of the praetors of 217 and was propraetor of Sardinia in 216.

ipsi] 'personally'—without any help from outside: they were told to look after their own fleets and armies, no supplies being forthcoming from Rome.

5 **ad unicum subsidium**] 'to that unique support.'

Hieronem] Hiero II, king of Syracuse 268 to 216, a firm ally of the Roman people.

quantum] the full construction is *tantum argenti accepit quantum opus fuit*; the reading *quanti* can hardly be defended, see Appendix; and cp. 25 § 10 *militum sumere quantum opus esset.*

6 **Sardinia**] Sardinia and Corsica formed together a Roman province constituted about 231.

civitates sociae] the Sardinian communities which were in alliance with Rome.

triumviri mensarii] 'three bank commissioners' to deal with the financial situation. The *lex Minucia* was a popular measure to maintain public credit and to alleviate the condition of the poor, and was so far a continuation of the policy of the *lex Flaminia minus solvendi* of 217.

L. Aemilius Papus] cos. 225, censor 220.

M. Atilius Regulus] cos. 227 and again, after the death of G. Flaminius, for the rest of the year 217.

L. Scribonius Libo] one of the tribunes for 216.

7 **duumviri**] the full title of these officials was *duumviri* (or *duoviri*) *aedi dedicandae* and they are to be distinguished from the *duoviri aedi locandae* referred to in XXII. 33 § 8 who superintended the contract for building this temple.

M. et C. Atilii] M. Atilius Regulus above mentioned and his brother C. Atilius Regulus who was consul with L. Aemilius Papus in 225.

aedem Concordiae] this is not the great temple of Concord, which was founded by M. Furius Camillus in 367, but a smaller temple vowed by the praetor L. Manlius in 218 to commemorate the quelling of a military revolt. Its exact position on the Capitol is difficult to determine.

pontifices] the number of *pontifices* at this period was probably nine, of whom four were patricians and five plebeians. MM VI. p. 233.

Q. Caecilius Metellus] consul 206.

Q. Fabius Maximus] the well-known dictator of 217.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus] consul four times, 237, 214, 212, 209, at which date he must have been 70 years of age.

demortui] *demori* is used especially of a death that causes a vacancy in a succession, cp. 22 § 5, 23 § 4. Of this Scantinius nothing seems to be known.

L. Aemili Pauli] consul 216.

Q. Aeli Paeti] unsuccessful candidate for the consulship of 217, cp. XXII. 35 § 2.

Chapter XXII

1 **cetera...minuerat**] 'the other gaps which fortune had made.'

2 **ad publicum consilium**] cp. 2 § 4, 3 § 5: one may translate approximately 'to the public council,' but the word *consilium* is not quite the same as our 'council' or as the Latin *concilium*. Cicero Fam. III. 8 § 4 calls the senate *publicum orbis terrae consilium* as the national deliberative assembly of the Roman world.

3 **post...censores**] in their censorship, 220 B.C., Flaminius constructed the well-known via Flaminia. The censorship was intended to be a quinquennial office, but owing to the disturbances caused by the Hannibalic war and other causes the next regular censorship did not take place till 209.

senatus lectus fuerat] one of the main duties of censors was to revise the list of the senators and to fill up vacancies.

cum tantum...absumpsissent] 'since calamitous battles, not to mention the chances of private life, had removed so large a body of senators during the space of five years.'

absumpsissent] cp. 30 § 12, *nisi mors...absumpsisset*.

4 **exposcentibus cunctis**] the senators clamoured for a statement from the praetor; cp. XXX. 21 § 10, *conclamatum deinde ex omni parte curiae est uti referret P. Aelius praetor*. For M. Aemilius see note on 20 § 6.

Sp. Carvilius] his full name was Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga. He was consul 234 and 228.

civium] Livy means citizens of position and repute.

5 **Latini nominis**] the proposal to admit representatives of the Latin communities to the Roman senate was certain to arouse opposition in view of the jealousy with which the Roman citizen body was guarded from the intrusion of the Latin element. The Latins did not receive regular admission to the Roman citizenship till the lex Iulia of B.C. 90. Mommsen remarks that the violent outbreak of feeling recorded by

Livy is characteristic rather of the political animosity of the annalists whom he copies, who wrote under the influence of passions excited by the social war, than of the actual spirit of the times. Carvilius would not have made the proposal if he had not had some sort of backing.

binis senatoribus] Livy means members of the *senatus*, or town council, of the Latin communities. Carvilius proposed that the Roman citizenship should be given to two members of each of these provincial councils and that they should then be admitted as members of the Roman senate.

6 **postulatum**] the demand made by the Latins in 340 that one of the two consuls should be a Latin and that the senate should be composed in equal proportions of Romans and Latins. It was then that the consul T. Manlius Torquatus uttered the threat here referred to; cp. VIII. 5. The Torquatus mentioned here is no doubt his descendant, the consul of 235 and 224 and the censor of 231, cp. 34 § 15.

7 **eius stirpis...ex qua**] 'of the same stock to which belonged the consul who once.'

8 **alieniore tempore**] 'at a more inopportune time.' The reference by Manlius to his ancestor's outburst of hostility to the Latins was clearly tactless at a time when Rome in her extreme peril needed to conciliate her allies.

quam...id iactum] 'than the reckless utterance of that remark.'

inter...animos] equivalent to *cum suspensi essent animi*: this use of *inter* is noticeable and is especially frequent in Tacitus, cp. Hist. I. 34 *inter gaudentes et incuriosos = cum alii gauderent alii incuriosi essent.*

9 **extinguendam**] 'smothered.'

si quid umquam.. fuerit] 'if ever there was a solemn secret never to be uttered in the senate.'

tegendum...esse] 'suppressed, concealed, forgotten, regarded as unspoken.' Notice the increase of syllables in the first three words; this may be accidental or it may be a rhetorical artifice; it is not uncommon in Cicero.

10 **vetustissimus**] this does not mean 'oldest,' but the one who had held office longest ago: 'the senior of the surviving ex-censors.'

11 **ex Apulia**] Livy does not say when Varro went there or where his garrison was, probably either at Canusium or at Luceria.

nocte proxima] it was customary to appoint a dictator *nocte silentio*, by night, when all was silent, and *in agro Romano*, that is, either at Rome or in some district occupied by *cives Romani*.

M. Fabium Buteonem] cos. 245, censor 241 (the last year of the first Punic war). When censor he is said to have put his own son to death for theft. He was now probably about 72 years of age.

dictatorem] it should be noted that there were now two dictators—M. Iunius Pera, regularly appointed, and M. Fabius, whose appointment was an extra-ordinary one for a special purpose.

Chapter XXIII

1 **lictoribus**] a dictator was by law entitled to 24 lictors, the number employed by the two consuls whose functions he temporarily assumed, but probably only when on active service; in Rome he seems to have had only 12. MM I. 324, II. 137.

rostra] the *rostra* faced the *comitium*, hence Fabius was addressing the people.

factum esset] the subjunctive indicates that the statement is a part of the speaker's remarks; if *erat* had been written it would have been the historian's own comment. Fabius apparently did not regard the double dictatorship of the previous year as a real exception to the rule. Like himself Minucius had no *magister equitum*.

dixit] it does not seem likely that Fabius publicly enunciated all these objections to his own appointment. Mommsen suggests that Livy is reproducing the criticisms of the annalists on the double dictatorship of Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Minucius Rufus, MM II. 132 n. 1.

2 **uni**] because it was the rule to appoint two censors.

et eidem iterum] 'and moreover to the same person a second time': it was against constitutional practice for the same person to hold the censorship twice.

nisi rei gerendae causa] a dictator was usually appointed *rei gerendae causa*, to take decisive action as the supreme head of the state, whereas Fabius was appointed merely to hold a *lectio senatus* in place of duly appointed censors.

3 **quae inmoderata...impositurum**] 'he would set a due limit to the irregular commission that chance and the exigencies of the time had imposed on him.' He explains his meaning by saying that he will limit his censorial powers of removing senators from the roll. For the text see Appendix.

4 **transcribi**] transcribed from the old register to the new.

unum] this is emphatic, because the concurrence of *two* censors was required for a sentence of degradation.

fuerit] 'shall have been,' marking the completion of the result, cp. XLIV. 22 § 4 *me omni ope adnisurum esse ne frustra...conceperitis.*

sublecturum] *sublegere*, 'to elect a substitute,' not used elsewhere in Livy.

ut ordo...videretur] he would elect new members with reference to their rank and standing rather than their personal qualifications. The next sentence shows how he carried out this plan.

5 **curulem magistratum**] the curule magistracies were those that had the privilege of using the curule chair; they were, among the regular magistrates, the consuls, praetors and curule aediles, and such occasional officials as the interrex, dictator, censor.

necdum] 'but not yet.'

ut quisque...erat] 'in order of their creation.' He chose them in chronological sequence, not by any order of merit.

6 **aediles**] of course this denotes the plebeian aediles. These officials—aediles, tribunes and quaestors—had a right of being put on the senatorial roll only so far as there were vacancies left after the admission of all the higher officials.

tum...cepissent] he then took a lower grade, those who had held small subordinate offices and chose from among them those who had distinguished themselves on active service.

spolia ex hoste] 'spoils (taken) from the enemy': *spolia* denotes chiefly arms and accoutrements, cp. X. 7 § 9 *quorum domos spoliis hostium affixis insignis inter alias feceritis.*

civicam coronam] a wreath given to those who had rescued a fellow-citizen in battle, a distinction of somewhat narrower scope than our V.C.

accepissent] note the subjunctives *haberent*, *accepissent* after *qui*, although in the previous sentence Livy wrote *qui aediles...fuerant*: the distinction of mood may be represented in English by translating *qui* with indicative as 'who,' with subjunctive as 'such as.'

7 **centum septuaginta septem**] the normal number of the senate was 300. It will be remembered that the ranks of the senate had been sadly depleted by the disastrous battle of Cannae.

privatas agentium res] 'of those who were going about their private business.'

8 **tempus hoc**] the meaning seems to be that he lingered in the forum for the time that intervened between his descent from the rostra and the

close of day in order that he might slip away unperceived among the homefaring crowd.

deducendi] the regular word for escorting a person anywhere by way of compliment.

ea mora] the fact that he lingered in the forum did not chill the enthusiasm of his supporters who escorted him home in crowds. He thus fulfilled in a few days a task for which six months' tenure of office had been assigned him. His tact and modesty are well brought out in Livy's vivid sketch.

frequentesque] *que* here as often elsewhere is slightly adversative.

9 **ne...retineretur**] he knew that the dictator could hold the *comitia* and that his own presence was not required even though the senate might desire it.

Chapter XXIV

1 **M. Pomponio**] M. Pomponius Matho was the praetor peregrinus. In the absence of the consuls the praetor could summon the senate, cp. XXII. 55 § 1, where we read that the two praetors called a meeting of the senate, cp. MM II. 116 n. 2.

dictatori] M. Iunius Pera, whose term of office was drawing to a close.

ad consules subrogandos] in the absence of the surviving consul it was the duty of the dictator to preside at the election of consuls for 215. The word *subrogare* is generally used of a supplementary election to fill a vacancy, cp. XXXIX. 39 § 7, but is used here as in XXXIV. 54 § 1, XXXV. 6 §§ 6, 7, and elsewhere, of the ordinary election of new consuls to succeed the old.

2 **legatis**] 'lieutenants,' 'deputies.' It was not till the time of Iulius Caesar that a legatus became the chief officer of a legion.

pauca ac modice locutus] 'said a few words with becoming modesty.' After his appointment as dictator M. Iunius left Rome at the head of an army of 25,000 men, cp. 14 § 4, but we do not read of his having performed any signal service to his country.

3 **L. Postumius tertium**] L. Postumius Albinus cos. 234, 229. He did not live to hold office for the third time, see § 11.

Galliam provinciam obtinebat] beware of translating this 'the province of Gaul.' At this period there were only two Roman provinces, Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica. The phrase merely means that Postumius

was officer in charge of Gallia, or the Gallicus ager, a district of N. Italy inhabited by the Boii and other Gallic tribes.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus] probably great-grandfather of the brothers Gracchi who were so famous a century later. Sempronius held the consulship for a second time in 213, and was killed in battle in the following year.

4 **M. Valerius Laevinus iterum**] when was he praetor for the first time? In 215 he became praetor peregrinus, and afterwards held important military commands.

Ap. Claudius Pulcher] cp. XXII. 53 § 2: he was given the command in Sicily.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus] became praetor urbanus. He had been consul in 237 and 224.

Q. Mucius Scaevola] appointed to command in Sardinia. The appointment of these four praetors is mentioned again in 30 § 18.

5 **Teanum**] now Teano, generally called Teanum Sidicinum to distinguish it from another Teanum in Apulia. The place was an important strategical position, as it commanded the via Latina and was within reach of the junction of this road with the via Appia at Casilinum.

cum...esset] the chronology is confusing. The consuls entered on office 15 March, cp. 30 § 18, but the Roman calendar being probably about two months wrong the time was really midwinter, hence the statement that the dictator returned to winter-quarters, but Hannibal had already left his winter-quarters and had taken Casilinum, cp. 19.

6 **maxime**] to be taken closely with *cum*, 'just when.'

aliam super aliam] cp. 36 § 10: possibly Livy is the only classical prose author who thus uses *super*.

Gallia] see note on § 3. The date of this defeat cannot be determined. Livy's statement that it took place after the election of Postumius, which was probably in January, cannot be reconciled with that of Polybius, that it happened a few days after the battle of Cannae.

7 **Litanam**] this forest is supposed to have been somewhere near Modena and Bologna, the district occupied by the Gallic tribe of the Boii.

ut...occiderent] 'so as to stand if undisturbed but to fall in a heap at a slight thrust.' *occidere*, fall on something else, fall in a heap; cp. XXI. 35 § 12 *aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.*

8 **supero mari**] the Adriatic, cp. note on 1 § 5: the force had been levied from the maritime districts.

ut...induxerit] aoristic perfect, 'so that he led.'

9 **oram extremae silvae**] the edge of the wood at its furthest extremity: the meaning seems to be that the Gauls were lying in wait at the far end of the track through the wood, and when the Roman army in its march through the forest reached this point the trees were toppled over on their front ranks; the rest of the long column, thrown into confusion by the unexpected disaster, was surrounded and slain by the enemy lying in wait all around them.

male haerentem] 'barely attached' to the roots.

ancipiti strage] 'by crashing down on both sides of the route.'

10 **pontem fluminis**] the river was probably one of the several streams that crossed the Roman road running through Bononia and Mutina.

12 **sollemnibus**] 'on festivals.'

poculumque idem] 'and also served as a cup.' The practice of using the skull of an enemy as a drinking cup was not uncommon. About 567 A.D. the Lombard king Alboin had the skull of his father-in-law Cunimond mounted with gold and made into a cup, and even forced his wife Rosamund to drink out of it; and in 811 the Bulgarian king Crumn made a similar use of the skull of the Eastern emperor Nicephorus.

13 **ceterae res**] 'the rest of their equipment.'

Chapter XXV

1 **tabernis clausis**] ablative absolute subordinate to the main ablative *solitudine facta*, 'by the closing of the shops.'

aedilibus] the aediles had among their other functions the general police supervision and control of the capital.

3 **animos summitterent**] 'let their spirits flag.'

4 **prospera...futura**] 'provided things turned out favourably as he hoped they would.'

ultionemque eam fraudis] 'the vengeance for their loss': *eam* is hardly intelligible, and Livy probably wrote *eius* which was assimilated by some copyist to the preceding accusative. *fraus*, 'loss,' implying some kind of treachery, though there was nothing treacherous in the device adopted by the Gauls.

gereretur] 'was to be carried on,' in direct speech *geratur*. The words *id bellum* refer to the war against Hannibal.

6 **a peritis**] 'from those who knew the facts.'

nec...ratio] 'nor was any plan devised.'

satis firmi] 'of sufficient strength'; Rome's veteran forces had been to a great extent exhausted.

tantum bellum] Livy probably means the double set of operations—against Hannibal and against the Gauls.

consuli] the new consul, T. Sempronius Gracchus.

7 **qui eorum...essent**] 'such of them as had taken part in the flight from Cannae.'

8 **eodem**] to be taken with *reici*, 'to be rejected and sent to the same place'—to Sicily.

stipendiorum legitimorum] the legionaries were probably bound to serve for 16 years, the cavalry for 10. The ineffective units here mentioned were required to serve only for their legal period, whereas the fugitives from Cannae were to be kept serving in Sicily for an indefinite period till the end of the war in Italy.

9 **duae legiones urbanae**] see notes on 14 § 2, § 4. Livy's various references to these urban legions are hopelessly confused.

posset] supply probably *fieri* not *creari*, 'as soon as it could be done': the omission of *fieri* with the impersonal use of *posse* is frequent.

10 **ex Sicilia**] Sicily was constituted a Roman province at the end of the first Punic war, and troops were no doubt permanently quartered there to keep the strong Carthaginian element in check.

11 **prorogari**] he was to have his military command (*imperium*) extended for another year.

Chapter XXVI

1 **in Hispania**] for a brief account of the obscure operations in Spain see Introduction, p. xviii.

2 **P. et Cn. Scipionibus**] P. Cornelius Scipio cos. 218, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus cos. 222. It should be noticed that naval and military commands were held indiscriminately by Roman officers. Gnaeus had commanded a fleet previously, XXII. 19 § 4, as Publius does now. So in comparatively recent English history Prince Rupert, General Monk, Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, among others, were both naval and military commanders.

Hasdrubal] Hannibal's brother, to be distinguished from Hannibal's brother-in-law Hasdrubal, who had been assassinated a few years before,

and from Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, who comes into prominence at a later date.

procul...tenebat se] this may be paraphrased 'kept himself in security by choosing positions separated by a wide distance from the enemy.'

3 **propius hostem**] unfortunately we are not told where the Romans were. Livy appears to have known and cared little about the geography of Spain.

insulas] the Balearic isles, Ivica, Majorca, Minorca.

4 **in ipso...rerum**] 'in the middle of his vigorous effort to set things going again.'

perculit eum] 'struck him a severe blow.'

praefectorum navium transitio] 'the defection of the ship captains.' See the account of this battle off the mouth of the Ebro in the summer of 217 in XXII. 26 § 4.

5 **Tartesiorum**] a tribe in the south of Spain on the lower Baetis (Guadalquivir). They were also called Turdetani.

7 **ut palantis exciperent**] 'to catch ('round up') the roving bands.'

8 **fugaque et caedes**] 'both flight and slaughter': the natives friendly to the Romans not only fled in various directions, but some of them were also caught and slain.

9 **tripudiantes**] the *tripudium* was a rhythmical movement in which the ground was struck three times by the foot, a kind of three-step dance. Cp. Horace Od. III. 18. 15 *gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor* | *ter pede terram*, IV. I. 27 *pede candido* | *in morem Salium ter quatient humum*, Livy XXV. 17 § 5 *armatum exercitum decucurrisse cum tripudiis Hispanorum.* The verb survives in Italian *tripudiare*, 'to skip' or 'scamper.'

10 **flumine etiam obiecto tutum**] 'with a river also to protect him': *obiecto* denotes that the river served as a barrier between himself and the foe.

copias subducit] 'withdraws his forces,' cp. Caes. B. G. I. 24 *copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit*; the verb suggests moving up to a higher level, so *subducere naves* is to draw ships ashore, cp. 28 § 3.

equitesque palatos] 'the roving horsemen,' referred to in § 7, who had been sent out to round up the fugitives.

11 **alterno pavore**] first the natives and then the Carthaginians were smitten with panic.

cetrato] the Spaniard armed with the *cetra*, a light shield opposed to the *scutum*, a longer and heavier shield used by the Roman legionaries. Livy says the *cetratus* was equal to the Moorish javelin-man in speed and considerably superior in resolution and bodily strength.

Chapter XXVII

1 **postquam...poterant...capiunt**] this use of *postquam* with the imperfect is common in Livy and Tacitus, and indicates the permanent condition existing at the time of the action described in the main sentence, Kühner II. 2 § 207: cp. Caesar B. G. VII. 87 *Labienus postquam neque aggeres...vim hostium sustinere poterant Caesarem facit certiorem.*

Ascuam] the place is unknown, but Ptolemaeus mentions a town Ἔσκουα in this district (WM).

2 **contineri**] another instance of Livy's abrupt use of the historic infinitive.

3 **ut fit**] for the sentiment cp. 14 § 1.

palatos sine signis] the Spaniards were wandering about, not marshalled in detachments under their proper colours: *sine signis* is opposed to *sub signis*. Cp. 42 § 12 *populatores nostros sine signis palatos*, and § 9 *explorato et subsidiis positis et sub signis ad populandum ducebant.*

pergit ire] cp. 28 § 11, the expression is common in Livy.

4 **tumultuose**] to be taken with *refugientes attulere.*

5 **sine signo**] 'without any signal': distinguish this from *sine signis* § 3.

incompositi, inordinati] cp. XXII. 50 § 8 *inordinati atque incompositi obstrepunt portis. incompositi*, not marshalled in their proper companies; *inordinati*, not in their ranks.

6 **ipsa audacia**] 'by their very audacity': *hostem* is of course the Carthaginians.

coire in orbem] 'form a circle,' corresponding to the square formation, common in modern warfare before the days of trench fighting and machine guns.

7 **dum corpora...iungunt**] 'pressing shoulder to shoulder and joining weapon to weapon.'

9 **nec**] equivalent to *nec tamen*.

in pacto mansit] the subject is *gens*.

subinde] 'soon after': sometimes it means 'now and again,' 'frequently,' and so appears in French as *souvent*.

allatum est] the following *ut duceret* shows that this does not mean 'news was brought,' but 'instructions were brought.' This order was apparently carried out in 207, cp. XXVII. 39, and is perhaps not connected with the levy of troops mentioned in 13 § 8: so WL, but WM decide otherwise. Livy's narrative is so confused and devoid of chronological detail that no definite decision is possible.

10 **inde**] if the reading is right *inde* means 'thence,' 'from the place where he was'; but Livy does not tell us where Hasdrubal was at the time.

11 **eos...esse**] 'were such'; then *quibus* is equivalent to *ut eis*.

possit] if this the reading of P is correct, the present tense of the oratio recta is here retained by a slight but common irregularity in the oratio obliqua. In direct speech the sentence would run *praeterquam quod nec praesidium...habeo quem relinquam pro me, ei imperatores sunt...quibus...possit.*

12 **mitterent**] in direct speech *mittite.*

ut] 'supposing that.'

provinciam] 'his charge': remember that Spain was not a Roman 'province' at this time, cp. 24 § 3.

Chapter XXVIII

1 **prior potiorque**] the two words are often combined into a single expression, cp. our phrase 'first and foremost.'

2 **Himilco**] cp. XXII. 19 § 2 *Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum quem a fratre instructum paratumque acceperat decem adiectis quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit.* This fleet was defeated by Cn. Scipio in 217. Subsequently Himilco added new ships to repair his losses (*aucta classe*) and now starts again from Africa for the coast of Spain.

exercitu iusto] 'complete,' 'fully-equipped': so Gibbon uses the phrase 'a just army.'

3 **castris communitis**] with his usual lack of detail where we most need it Livy does not say where Himilco landed; perhaps at Nova Carthago which had been founded in 243 by the elder Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother-in-law.

dubios infestosque] 'wavering or hostile.'

iuxta intentus] 'equally vigilant.'

4 **foret**] constantly used by Livy for *esset*.

nulla...tutior] 'owing his safety more to his speed than to anything else.'

antequam consentirent] 'before they (the tribes) could form any joint plans.'

5 **priusquam moveret**] the subjunctive is of a potential character. Hasdrubal did not feel that he could move till he had exacted money; if the bare fact had been stated without any notion of motive the indicative *movet* or *movit* might have been used. Notice *priusquam* here and *antequam* in the previous sentence. Mr N. W. Helm in C.R. XIV. 262 states that Livy uses *priusquam* about twice as often as *antequam*. Cicero favours *antequam*, Caesar very markedly *priusquam*.

6 **transitus...mercatum**] 'had paid for some of his transits through their territory.'

inopem...ingressum] 'if he had started on so long a march without resources.'

Hiberum] by the treaty negotiated with the Romans by Hasdrubal in 241 the Ebro was made the boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman territories.

8 **ipsi**] agreeing with *Hannibali* but merely serving to emphasise *per se*: 'in himself alone an almost intolerable enemy.'

Hispaniensis exercitus] an army serving in Spain, whereas *Hispanus exercitus* is a Spanish army. In this case the army though consisting mainly of Spaniards, 29 § 8, was nominally a Carthaginian army. For these adjectives in *-ensis* see an interesting paper by W. T. Arnold in C.R. III. p. 201.

illum] the *illud* that one would expect is attracted into the masculine by *finem*.

9 **castra castris conferrent**] 'confront camp with camp,' 'encamp close to the enemy's camp': cp. IV. 27 § 5 *ex quo castra castris collata sunt*.

oppugnandis] *oppugnare* which usually means to besiege a place, as in § 10, is here and elsewhere used of besetting or attacking a force.

10 **Hiberam**] the situation of this place is said to be unknown.

11 **pro ope ferenda**] it seems very doubtful whether this could possibly mean 'instead of bringing help,' ἀντὶ τοῦ βοηθεῖν. Might it not be 'by way of helping'? That is, he chose this particular method of helping his allies. The next sentence seems to support my view.

Hasdrubal's action in going to besiege this (unnamed) town had the effect of raising the Roman blockade of the opulent and important town of Hibera. Oddly enough WL and WM cite two passages of Cicero (Off. III. § 25 and Brutus § 311) where *pro* with the gerundive has this sense 'by way of doing so and so' as being inapplicable to the present passage!

urbem] it is strange that no name is given to this town.

Chapter XXIX

1 **nec sine...exirent**] 'engaging in slight skirmishes but not going out to battle': *nec ut* for *nec ita ut*.

2 **signum**] the use of *propositum* shows that the signal was something displayed and not the sound of an instrument. Caesar B.G. II. 20 distinguishes three signals before a battle, *vexillum proponendum quod erat insigne cum ad arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba dandum,... signum dandum*. The first calls the men together, at the second they take their places in the ranks, the third is apparently an order to the *signiferi* to advance the standards, *signa inferre*: cp. Caesar B.C. III. 89, Livy VI. 7 § 5.

3 **velitum**] this is an anachronism; the *velites* were not instituted till 211, cp. XXVI. 4 § 9, but light-armed contingents (*levis armatura*) drawn from the allied states or from foreign countries were employed at an earlier period. These light-armed men were on this occasion placed partly in front of the standards and partly behind them, which probably means that some of them were ranked with the *hastati*, and others with the *principes* and the *triarii* who formed the second and third lines. The *signa* or standards of the maniples were borne behind the *hastati*.

4 **Hispanis**] native Spaniards, see note on *Hispaniensis* 28 § 8.

Afros] the Afri were a nomad race in the neighbourhood of Carthage who gave their name first to the Roman province of Africa and finally to the whole continent.

apponit] 'attaches.'

5 **quibus**] for *ei quibus*.

desultorum] *desultor* is a trained rider who can jump from one horse to another, *traicit alterno qui leve pondus equo* Prop. V. 2. 36.

transultare] said not to occur elsewhere, the ordinary word is *transilire*.

7 **quamquam...pugnarent]** in Cicero and the best writers *quanquam* is followed by the indicative. The subjunctive is used here because the clause is regarded as a part of the address of the generals; the same explanation applies to XXXVI. 34 § 6 *quanquam moveretur his vocibus manu tamen abnuit quicquam opis in se esse*, and perhaps to VI. 9 § 6 *quamquam...mallet nihil recusavit*; a more doubtful instance is XLV. 17 § 7.

in eo discrimine] the preposition, omitted in the MSS, is added by Madvig, as required by usage after *verti*.

obstinaverant animis] 'had firmly resolved,' cp. II. 15 § 5 *id certum atque obstinatum est*.

10 **nihilo segnius]** 'by no means lacking in vigour': the words are rather obscure and might easily be misunderstood; the centre of Hasdrubal's line consisting mostly of Spaniards made a weak resistance, but his troops on the two wings fought with great vigour and began to close round the Roman centre which had broken up the Spanish force in front of it.

proelio ancipiti] *proelium anceps* is a battle on two fronts. The Romans were attacked on their two flanks but by forming into a close compact body they were able to thrust off both attacks: cp. *ancipiti strage* 24 § 9.

11 **dimovenda]** 'thrust aside.'

12 **mediis]** the enemy's centre.

13 **vis]** 'quantity,' 'number.'

14 **nuda cornua...deseruere]** 'deserted the wings and left them defenceless.'

16 **spes reliqua erat]** if the reading be right (see Appendix) *reliqua* is here practically equivalent to *relicta*, and *non modo* is, as often, for *non modo non*.

Chapter XXX

1 **Petelia]** see 20 § 4. Polybius VII. § 1 says that Petelia held out with great bravery for eleven months. If he is correct, the fall of the town must be dated 215 and not 216 as it is in Livy.

2 **volneribus]** *multis* must be mentally supplied from the previous *multo*.

expugnavit] 'reduced.'

3 **carnisque...quadrupedum]** notice the accumulation of genitives: *carnis* is genitive after *alimentis*, and *quadrupedum* after *carnis*, and

omnis generis is a defining genitive after *quadrupedum*: this is better than taking *quadrupedum* as genitive after *omnis generis*, though one can say *omne genus hominum* or *homines omnis generis* without any appreciable distinction of meaning.

suetae insuetaeque] WM cp. Tacitus Hist. IV. 60 *solita insolitaque alimenta deerant; virgulta postremo et stirpes et internatas saxis herbas vellentes.*

strictis] 'lopped': for similar straits endured by the Pompeians at Dyrrhachium see Caesar B. C. III. 58 § 3.

4 **antequam...deerant**] this use of the imperfect indicative with *ante-* (or *prius-*) *quam* is not common, and is found mostly in negative sentences, as here and in 48 § 1, 'they were not reduced till strength failed,' Kühner II. 2 p. 371. The indicative is used because it is a bare statement of priority of fact without any notion of motive, and the imperfect denotes a state of things and not a single action; contrast *pervicit* in 9 § 9 of a single completed action.

5 **Consentiam**] now Cosenza, chief town of the Bruttii on the river Crathis, now Crati.

6 **Crotonem**] now Cotrone on the east coast of Calabria, once a famous centre of Greek civilisation; noted chiefly for the philosophy of Pythagoras and for the success of its athletes at the Olympic games.

omnis aetatis] genitive after *civium*: no doubt *cives* means male citizens.

7 **a defensoribus vacua**] cp. 36 § 4 *vacua ab hostibus*; the construction is common.

8 **Locrenses**] the people of Locri Epizephyrii, so called from the promontory of Zephyrium, now Capo di Bruzzano. It was an ancient colony from the Locri Ozolae, a Greek tribe north of the Corinthian gulf. Locri was originally the name of the tribe, then it became the name of the town, and the adjective Locrensis was then formed to denote the people, cp. 41 § 12.

principibus] usually the leading men in the provincial towns were on the Roman side, here the reverse was the case, probably owing to the Greek element.

9 **Regini**] the people of Regium on the straits of Messina, now called Reggio.

potestatis suae] 'independent'; for the construction cp. XXIV. 37 § 6 *urbem arcemque suae potestatis aiunt debere esse*, XXV. 29 § 4 *cum primum nostri arbitri esse coepimus.*

10 **pervenit**] 'found its way.'

11 **Gelo**] Hiero was at this time close on 90 years old, and his son Gelo about 50.

12 **movissetque res**] 'and would have stirred up trouble.'

patrem...aspergeret] 'even cast a touch of suspicion on his father.'

absumpsisset] cp. 22 § 3.

13 **Veneris Erycinae**] Venus was especially worshipped at Eryx in Sicily and so received the title of Erycina. Fabius then dictator had vowed a temple to her on the Capitol XXII. 9 § 10, 10 § 10.

14 **honorem inisset**] unusual for *magistratum inisset*, cp. V. 9 § 3 *honore abituros esse* with § 6 *abire magistratu*: see Appendix.

duumvirum] probably accusative, both forms *duumvir* and *duovir* being in use; but it might be genitive plural 'one of the duumviri': for the *duoviri aedi dedicandae* see note on 21 § 7.

15 **Lepido qui consul**] M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul 232, not twice, but a later Aemilius Lepidus, probably his grandson, was twice consul, 187 and 175. If Livy wrote *bis consul* it is possible that he may have carelessly confused the two. See Appendix.

ludos funebris] these games were privately organised and were not reckoned among the public *ludi*. They often lasted for three or four days, and gladiatorial combats were one of their chief features.

dederunt] 'exhibited': the word is more appropriate to *gladiatorum paria* than to *ludos*, the usual expression being *ludos facere*.

16 **in aedilitate**] cp. 24 § 3.

ludos Romanos] sometimes called *ludi magni*, cf. I. 35 § 10 *annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appellati*. They were held in September and at this period usually lasted four days. The words *per triduum instaurati*, 'repeated for three days,' may imply a duration of several days, because *instauratio* is a repetition of a festival owing to some informality in its observance. MM VI. 465, 476.

17 **plebei ludi**] these games are said to have been founded in 220, and this is the first mention of them: they were accompanied by an *epulum Iovis*, cp. XXV. 2 § 10 *ludi plebei per biduum instaurati et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa*. They were held in November. MM VI. 478.

aedilium] these were of course the two plebeian aediles.

Marcelli] this can hardly be the M. Claudius Marcellus of whom we read so much in this book.

idibus Martiis] 15 March, 215. This was the beginning of the official year.

18 **bis consul**] cp. 24 § 4.

censorque] he was censor in 232.

peregrinam.. habuit] 'was allotted the foreign department in the jurisdiction.'

19 **pro consule**] the expression is equivalent in sense to the adjective *proconsulare*. It was unusual for a praetor to be allowed extended *imperium* with proconsular power. The privilege was conferred by a decree of the senate (not mentioned here by Livy) and confirmed by a decree of the people in the comitia tributa (*populi iussu*), MM I. 525.

Chapter XXXI

1 **in Capitolio**] the senate at this time met in the curia Hostilia, but the first sitting of each year was held in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

duplex tributum] a tax of 2 per 1000 on the value of land or houses, slaves, cattle, roads, aqueducts, etc.: half of this (*simplex*, 1 per 1000) was to be exacted at once.

2 **praeterquam qui...fuissent**] it was these troops, among others, under Marcellus who according to Livy had recently gained a remarkable victory at Nola; yet they are not to receive their pay and are to be transferred to Sicily!

3 **duabus legionibus urbanis**] these are the legions mentioned in 25 § 9, where see note.

Cales] now Calvi, on the via Latina between Teanum and Casilinum. It was founded as a Latin colony with 2500 men in 334, cp. VIII. 16 § 14.

Cales ad conveniendum] we should say 'to meet at Cales,' but *Cales* is accusative of motion towards, 'to go to Cales and assemble there,' cp. 32 § 14 *Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit*.

castra Claudiana] this was the permanent camp established by Marcellus, cp. 17 § 3.

6 **legatus**] the praetor had the right of appointing an officer to carry out a special military duty, cp. 34 § 14.

7 **ablegatum**] 'removed': the use of the word is invidious since *ablegatio* was to some extent a form of exile.

fremitus] 'a murmur of dissatisfaction': many of the senators evidently wished Marcellus to be consul though others objected to two plebeians being chosen, cp. § 13.

8 **revertisset**] 'should have returned': if the speech had begun with

e re publica est (instead of *fuit*) *reverterit* 'shall have returned' would have been used.

quem maxime voltis] a direct statement of fact 'whom you most wish for,' whereas *quem...postularet* is generic, 'such an one as the exigencies of the state required.'

9 **Menti**] cp. Ovid *Fasti* VI. 241 *Mens quoque numen habet; Mentis delubra videmus | vota metu belli, perfide Poene, tui.* Mens or Mens bona, 'good sense,' was thought a desirable goddess to cultivate after the want of sense that had lost the battle of lake Trasimene.

Veneri Erycinae] see note on 30 § 13, XXII. 10 § 10.

est] made to agree with *utraque*, though the plural *discretae* is used to agree with the plural signification of *utraque*.

canali uno] probably a narrow stone channel or gutter.

10 **trecentis equitibus**] cp. note on 7 § 2.

populum] the *comitia tributa* as in 30 § 19.

ex pridie] 'dating from the day before,' or in modern phrase, 'as from the day before.' They were reckoned as *municipes* of Cumae from the day before the revolt of Capua and therefore escaped the penalties inflicted on the Campanians. Apparently they were not now for the first time made *cives Romani*, for in VIII. 11 § 16 Livy says that the Roman citizenship was granted them in 340. We must suppose then that by the defection of Capua they had lost their Roman citizenship which was now restored to them.

11 **quorum hominum essent**] 'to what class of men they belonged'—whether they were full citizens or had some other and inferior status.

in eam] supply *patriam*, though, as WM remark, *civitatem* would be more natural. They were returning to Rome and did not know what their status there was.

12 **rogando**] *subrogando* would be more usual.

13 **cui ineunti**] a vague dative of 'the person interested.'

vitio creatum] 'faultily elected.' This was the first occasion on which two plebeian consuls had been elected, but a fortunate clap of thunder, aided by the augurs, saved the state from this degradation.

patres] used of the patrician body in general, including of course some of the senators.

14 **tertium**] his previous consulships were in 233 and 228.

15 **mare arsit**] this suggests an unusual display of phosphorescence. The Romans were always prone to see apparitions of fire. Pliny says that once *Trasimenum lacum arsisse totum.* See a long list of

prodigies in XXII. 1. Livy himself had probably no great belief in these portents.

ad] supply *aedem*, probably meaning outside the temple, as if *ante*. On this expression see Mr Marindin in CR XI. 111.

Iunonis Sospitae] there was an important cult of Iuno Sospita at Lanuvium, cp. VIII. 14 § 2 *Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita cum eo ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo Romano esset.*

cruore manavere] as this was a not uncommon practice of ancient statues one may fairly suspect the priest of some trick.

lapidibusque] probably an unusually heavy hailstorm.

novemdiale...sacrum] this mode of expiating the omen of the stone-shower is frequently mentioned in Livy.

cum cura] cp. 11 § 6.

Chapter XXXII

1 **consules...diviserunt**] cp. XXII. 27 § 10 *ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent.*

Teani] cp. 24 § 5. The case is probably locative, 'the army at Teanum.'

volones] the volunteers; see XXII. 57 § 11 for the levy of slaves who were asked *vellentne militare* and were therefore called *volones*. They were 8000 in number.

viginti quinque milia] this number has a suspicious resemblance to the 25,000 men whom the dictator M. Iunius took with him from Rome as described in 14 §§ 2—4. Livy's whole account of the Roman forces engaged in this war and of their distribution is open to grave suspicion. As Kromayer points out (III. 405 n. 4) it is not likely that Sempronius had an army of 33,000 men.

2 **qui...praesideret**] 'which was to protect,' cp. 31 §§ 3, 5. *praesidere* with dative of place means 'to act as a covering or protective force to the place,' cp. XXII. 11 § 9 *alii ut urbi praesiderent relicti.*

praetores] cp. 31 § 18.

3 **senatores...liceret**] the members of the senate were officially divided into *senatores* and *quibus in senatu sententiam dicere licet.* The latter were those who by office or otherwise were entitled to be placed on the senatorial register at the next revision by the censors. Though not actually senators, they were allowed to attend the meetings and speak and vote. MM III. 2 p. 858.

portam Capenam] the gate by which the via Appia entered Rome. There was probably a *senaculum*, waiting-place for senators, constructed here, so that they might be close at hand if a meeting of the senate were suddenly called. Possibly the senate now met in the Templum Honoris, dedicated 233, which was close to the gate, and not, as previously, in the Curia Hostilia. LL II. p. 371.

4 **Piscinam publicam**] a pool just outside the porta Capena, on the left of the via Appia, used for bathing and washing. It had disappeared by the end of the republican period. Here the praetors placed their tribunal.

eo...iusserunt] 'to this place they ordered defendants to come to offer bail.' Usually the praetors held their court in the forum.

5 **Mago**] cp. 13 § 8, where we are told that Mago was sent into Spain to levy 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry to be employed in Spain and in Italy. But here Livy states that he was still in Carthage.

7 **erant...averterent**] 'there were some who wanted to disregard Italy and divert Mago to Spain.'

cum...adfulsit] another instance of the inverted *cum* clause, see note on 18 § 3.

spes adfulsit] so we speak of 'a ray of hope'; cp. XXVII. 28 § 14 *prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli adfulsit*, XLII. 65 § 11 *cum ex insperato iam obstinatis mori spes adfulsit.*

8 **A. Cornelium**] A. Cornelius Mammula, propraetor, in command of Sardinia 216, cp. 21 § 4.

9 **fessos**] the Sardinians had suffered much from the Roman arms. Triumphs were celebrated for victories over the Sardinians in 235, 234 and 233, and the unruly inhabitants, who were mostly of Carthaginian origin, chafed under the Roman domination.

gravi tributo] their land was all made *ager publicus*, domain land of the Roman state, and they had to pay a tenth of their produce and a tax as well: cp. Cicero, p. Balbo, 41.

11 **uno tempore**] 'at one and the same time,' equivalent to *eodem tempore* or *uno eodemque tempore*, cp. 29 § 2 *uno eodemque die*: Caesar also thus uses *uno tempore*, see my note on B. C. III. 15 § 4.

turbati erectique] they were both disturbed and elated—disturbed by the news from Spain and elated by the news from Sardinia.

13 **transactis...erant**] one of the first duties of the new consuls was to celebrate the Feriae Latinae, which at this period took place in April or May and lasted four days. The festival was of ancient origin and

was instituted by the Latin League in honour of Jupiter Latiaris. Part of the performance was on the Capitol, and it ended with sacred rites on the Alban mount. In 217 the consul C. Flaminius incurred great discredit by leaving Rome before he had held the festival; cp. XXI. 63.

14 **Sinuessam...edixit**] cp. 31 § 3. Sinuessa was a Roman colony founded 296, on the extreme south coast of Latium.

kalendas Iunias primas] 'the approaching first of June,' 'the first of June next.' Livy is writing of what happened in April or May, corresponding to an earlier period in the reformed calendar; *frumenta* therefore does not denote the growing crops, but the previous year's harvest that was stored in country barns.

15 **praetoribus**] cp. 30 § 18.

16 **in Apuliam**] the force commanded by Terentius was at Luceria, cp. 33 § 5.

Tarentum] now Taranto, originally Taras, a Greek colony founded by Sparta about 707. See Grote III. p. 383 foll.

17 **Brundisium**] now Brindisi. Tradition says that Βρεντέσιον was originally founded by Kretan settlers.

18 **suburbana litora**] the west coast near Rome.

19 **Piceno agro**] cp. 14 § 2. Instead of summoning men of military age to Rome the government sometimes sent commissioners into the country to levy troops on the spot. WM.

20 **Crassus**] cp. 21 §§ 2, 3, where it is stated that he had been severely wounded and asked for someone to take his place. Having recovered he is now dispatched to Sicily again.

aedem Mentis] cp. 31 § 9.

cum imperio] the military command, *imperium*, that he held as propraetor in 216 must have been prolonged for another year.

Chapter XXXIII

2 **Philippus**] Philip V ascended the throne of Macedonia in 220 on the death of the regent Antigonus Doson. At this time the king of Macedon was at the head of a powerful confederacy of Hellenic tribes, and from 220 to 217 he was engaged in war with the Aetolians. An unsatisfactory peace was concluded at Naupactus. Philip then formed an alliance with Hannibal, hoping thus to avenge himself on his hereditary foes the Romans.

3 **ut...ita]** 'though...yet.'

utrius...fuerat] as a natural foe of the Romans he must have wished for their defeat, but like many other potentates in a similar position he wished to be on the safe side.

4 **postquam...erat]** 'when a third battle had now been fought and victory remained with': for *postquam erat* cp. note on 27 § 1.

Laciniae Iunonis] this temple was on the Lacinian promontory near Croton: cp. Strabo VI. 1 § 11 *μετὰ δὲ ταύτας (τὰς τῶν Ἰαπύγων ἄκρας) τὸ Λακίνιον Ἥρας ἱερὸν πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν*. The importance of her worship is attested by Aristotle, who speaks of her *πανήγυρις εἰς ἣν συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἰταλιῶται*. The promontory is now called Capo Colonne from the remaining columns of the ruined temple. See XXIV. 3 § 3—8.

5 **petentes Capuam]** one would like to know what route the legates took and where they fell in with the Roman outposts. Probably they were taken somewhere on the via Appia, perhaps at Venusia, and thence conveyed to Luceria.

6 **intrepide]** one of the many adverbs, some of them of surpassing ugliness, that crept into later Latin. See a huge list of them in Draeger 1 § 64.

amicitiam societatemque] this does not mean much more than 'friendly alliance,' but the Romans in dealing with foreign states seem to have discriminated between *socii* and *amici*; see the elaborate investigation of this question by Louise E. Matthaei in Classical Quarterly for July 1907, cp. 43 §§ 11, 14.

7 **admodum]** to be taken with *comiter*.

hostis pro hospitibus] this alliterative jingle is not uncommon, 'friends not foes'; German is nearer with 'freunde nicht feinde'; cp. XXI. 24 § 4 *hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse*.

10 **effecturus]** 'make up,' cp. 25 § 6.

11 **cederet]** the subjunctives *cederet*, *navigarent*, *gererent*, *essent* depend on the *ut* after *legibus his*, as they represent the conditions or terms of the articles of agreement between the contracting powers; one must beware of taking them to denote the *results* of the alliance; in other words one must use 'should,' not 'would,' in translating: if Livy had intended to represent the results of the agreement he would have written *Italiam...cessuram*, etc.

12 **continentis]** the mainland.

insulae] Corcyra and other neighbouring islands.

CHAPTER XXXIV

2 **ad regis...fidem**] 'to add binding force to the king's own pledge.' The presence of the Carthaginian ambassadors would make Philip more careful in giving pledges.

Gisgo] he had a son Hasdrubal mentioned XXVIII. 1 § 2, and is probably the Gisgo, father of Hamilcar, mentioned in XXI. 51 § 2.

Bostar] probably the same as the Bostar of XXVI. 12 § 10.

3 **conspecti a classe**] the impersonal fleet is said 'to see': if illustration is needed cp. Caes. B. C. II. 6 § 4 *conspicataeque naves triremes duae navem D. Bruti*, and 22 § 3 *hunc conspicatae naves*.

4 **Valeriusque Flaccus**] this is P. Valerius Flaccus mentioned in 16 § 13 as one of the legates of Marcellus.

cercuros] a Greek word, *κέρκουρος*, 'cutter.'

vinci] supply *se*, which may in fact have dropped out before *senserunt*.

5 **qui et unde**] the suitable verbs *essent* and *venissent* are easily supplied.

tenderent cursum] a poetical phrase.

satis iam semel felix] 'which once before had happily served its purpose.'

struere] 'concocts.'

superare] 'cross.'

8 **quibus cognitis**] for the neuter *quibus*, for which Caesar would have written *quibus rebus*, cp. note on 20 § 10.

9 **L. Valerius Antias**] no doubt an ancestor of the historian Valerius Antias.

10 **decedens**] 'on quitting': the present participle is usual in reference to the departure of an official from his seat of government as well as to his entry: cp. § 11 *advenientem* 'on his arrival.'

11 **gravitate caeli aquarumque**] 'by the bad climate and the rains.'

exceptum] 'struck down': there is no single English word quite corresponding to *excipere*, cp. 18 § 9.

quam longum] notice omission of preposition before the adjective; cp. IV. 58 § 4 *tarditatis causa non in senatu magis fuit quam tribunis*.

inplicitum] Livy generally has *morbo implicitus*, as in 40 § 1, not *in morbum*.

12 **ut...ita**] 'though...yet,' cp. 33 § 3.

ut...esse] for the accusative and infinitive used by attraction in

subordinate adverbial clauses see Roby, § 1784, Draeger II. p. 408, cp. 12 § 4.

praesidem] for the word used of an army cp. 48 § 7.

parum aptum bello] see Appendix.

motum iri videretur] 'seemed likely to be stirred up': *quod* seems to be the accusative after *motum iri* and not the nominative to *videretur*. The direct statement would be *bellum motum iri videtur*, 'it seems that people are going (lit. 'it is being gone') to stir up war.' I fail to understand WM on this point.

13 **eamque legionem**] a legion is here made to consist of 5000 infantry and 400 cavalry. In XXII. 36 § 3 Livy says that the strength of the legion was raised to 5000 infantry and 300 cavalry. The normal strength before this period was 4200 infantry and 300 cavalry. At a later period the normal number of infantry was 6000, but the legion often fell below its full complement: cp. MM V. 324.

14 **convaluisset**] 'should have recovered,' *convaluerit* in the actual words of the speaker.

15 **Torquatus**] cp. note on 22 § 7. In his first consulship, 235, he quelled a rebellion in Sardinia stirred up by Punic agency. In the following year the rebels had to be subdued again by the consul Sp. Carvilius Maximus.

16 **Calvo**] 'the bald.' This is Hannibal's brother: for the sending of this expedition see 32 § 12. The mention of his cognomen *Calvus* seems quite out of place here.

vexata] a second passive participle, subordinate to the previous participle *missa*, 'the fleet which had been sent...having been damaged by foul weather is wrecked.'

17 **adeo...erant**] 'so completely were rigging and hulls alike shattered.'

Chapter XXXV

1 **mollitis animis**] Livy refers to the enervating effects of the winter spent in Capua.

2 **per se**] 'on their own account'—without Punic aid.

rem...facere] 'to subject the affairs of Cumae to their own control.' Cumae is said to have been founded by Chalcidian Greeks in the eleventh century B.C. and was probably the oldest Greek colony in the west. It was for a long time a place of considerable importance, and was the parent city of Neapolis. It was subdued by Capua in 420.

In 338 it became a municipium on the same terms as Capua: cp. VIII. 14 § 11.

comparant] the sentence would have been more regular if Livy had written *comparantes*.

3 **Hamas**] nothing is known of this place beyond the facts here mentioned by Livy.

4 **abnuere**] another instance of the abrupt introduction of an historical infinitive.

detegi] see Appendix.

5 **consul Romanus**] I suspect these words, especially the second, of being an interpolation.

quo...edixerat] cp. 32 § 14 and 31 § 3.

exercitu lustrato] 'having reviewed his army,' but it must be remembered that the *lustratio* was mainly a religious ceremony.

Liternum] a Roman colony on the coast of Campania, a few miles above Cumae, founded 194.

6 **otiosa stativa erant**] *stativa castra* is a camp intended for more or less continuous occupation: *otiosa erant*, 'was unmolested.'

decurrere] this is a technical term for military manœuvres, so the noun *decursus*, cp. XLIV. 9 § 5 *simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat... cum alios decursu edidissent motus*, XXIV. 48 § 11 *instruendo et decurrendo signa sequi et servare ordines docuit*.

ea maxima pars volonum erat] the meaning seems to be 'they (the recruits) formed the majority of the volunteers,' i.e. most of the volunteers were untrained recruits: *ea* then is for *ei*, and is due to the attraction of *maxima pars*.

7 **inter quae**] 'meanwhile': WM say this does not occur elsewhere in Livy, though he often uses *inter haec*; cp. *inter id*, § 14.

itaque...praeceperat] 'and he had to this effect ordered.'

legatis] the *legati legionum* of Livy's own time did not exist at this period, nor does there appear to have been any class of officers in the time of the Punic War officially known as *legati*. Livy may be thoughtlessly transferring to an earlier age the system of his own day, or else the term is loosely used of temporary appointments of deputies or 'lieutenants' made by the commanding officer for certain special duties.

tribunisque] the *tribuni militum* were the regular officers of the legion. There were six for each legion, two of whom commanded for two months, taking it in turn to command each day.

cuiquam] dative after the verbal substantive *exprobratio*, which has the construction of the verb *exprobrare*. Draeger I. 444 quotes a few instances of this construction from Cicero, but only this one from Livy.

8 **generosos**] 'of worthy descent': the servile origin of the *volones* should be forgotten and they should be treated as if they were of respectable birth.

11 **triduo...esse**] the order is *triduo post*, 'in three days' time'; *eum diem festum esse*, 'this festival takes place.' *post* is here used adverbially.

12 **esset**] 'should take place': there is a slight underlying notion of motive in the subjunctive. WM cp. XXII. 38 § 8 *una pridie quam proficisceretur contio fuit.*

13 **medix tuticus**] the chief native magistrate of the Campanian confederation, not a Roman official. The words are Oscan. *Medix* or *Meddix* is said to be from the stem *med*, found in *medeor*, *modus*, *moderare*, combined with the stem *dic* of *dicere*, and *Tuticus* is from the Oscan *tout*=Latin *totus*; hence the words indicate 'lawgiver of the community.' The office was an annual one; in 216 it was held by Pacuvius Calavius: cp. 2 §§ 2, 3.

14 **inter id**] 'meanwhile,' i.e. while engaged on preparing the religious ceremony.

15 **nocturnum...conpleretur**] 'it was a night festival, but so arranged that it should conclude before midnight.'

16 **decuma diei hora**] approximately 4 p.m.

corpora curare] a regular phrase for attending to bodily needs in the way of food and rest.

17 **vigilia fere prima**] the first watch would begin at sunset.

tolli signa] the raising of the standards by the *signiferi* was the signal for marching.

18 **pervigilio**] a nocturnal festival, a kind of religious revel. The Emperor Galba honoured a statue of Fortuna, which had miraculously presented itself to him, *menstruis supplicationibus et pervigilio anniversario.* Suet. Galba 4.

Chapter XXXVI

1 **ab Hannibale metuens**] cp. 15 § 7.

Tifatis] Kromayer-Veith place Hannibal's camp on a small plateau two kilometres long and one broad in the mountain group N.E. and E. of

Capua. This elevated valley in which lie the villages of Balzi and Pianelli is surrounded by heights, on the N.W. by M. St Andrea, on the N.E. by M. Zecchinoso, on the S. by M. Virgo and on the W. by M. Coppo. See a photograph of the district in K.-V. III. 264 and the map in Karten, vol. II. Map 9. From this position Hannibal had an easy descent into the plain of Capua between M. Coppo and M. Virgo, and eastward a safe retreat into Apulia on either side of M. Zecchinoso.

2 **provida...opinio]** cp. Horace Od. III. 5. 13 *mens provida Reguli.*

ab re bene gesta] this use of *ab* 'in consequence of' with a participial phrase is common in Livy, cp. III. 61 § 13 *Sabini feroces ab re priore anno bene gesta.*

4 **vacua ab hostibus]** cp. 30 § 7.

5 **ut...duceret]** final subjunctive after *auctores erant* 'there were persons who advised him.'

6 **Neapolim]** for the abortive attempt on Neapolis see 1 § 5.

super Tifata] 'on Tifata,' that is, on the hill-range of Tifata.

7 **sequenti die]** according to WM this is unique in Livy for *insequenti die.*

8 **socios]** the people of *Cumae* who, not having the full burgess rights, were reckoned as *socii.*

fidem suam] Gracchus is the subject of the whole sentence and so the reflexive *suus* is used, though strictly speaking it should be *eius* as the allies are the subjects of the participle *implorantis* that governs *fidem.*

10 **auspiciis repetendis]** cp. note on 19 § 3.

procurandis prodigiis] a conjectural reading, see Appendix.

haud facile litari] 'good results are not easily obtained': cp. XLI. 15 § 4 *senatus maioribus hostiis usque ad litationem sacrificari iussit* 'till the signs were favourable,' XXVII. 23 § 1 *consules religio tenebat quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non facile litabant.*

Chapter XXXVII

1 **in obsidione erat]** 'was being blockaded': for this passive use the editors compare XXV. 7 § 10 *cum in spe Hannibali et in suspicione Romanis esset* 'was hoped for by Hannibal and suspected by the Romans,' XLII 2 § 3 *cum bellum Macedonicum in expectatione esset* 'was being expected.'

2 **ligneam ingentem]** the two adjectives are not co-ordinate, but

ligneam (*turrem*) is regarded as a single expression 'wooden-tower' and is qualified by the adjective *ingentem*, and to this is further added the participial phrase *admotam urbi*. If the text is correct *turrem* must be supplied with *ligneam*, and *aliam turrem* is the accusative after *excitavit*.

turrem] 'belfry,' the movable tower commonly used in siege operations. Hannibal moved forward his belfry on wheels to the assault, the Romans to meet the attack erected a tower on the town wall.

excitavit] 'ran up,' used of hasty erection, cp. Caesar B. G. V. 40 *turres excitantur incredibili celeritate*.

subiectis validis sublicis] this seems to mean that strong timber struts or buttresses were attached to the wall in such a way that their flat tops level with the top of the wall served to make a sufficiently stable platform for the erection of a tower on the top of the wall. Another explanation is that stout balks of timber were laid horizontally across the top of the wall, thus making a flat and stable foundation for a tower.

3 **saxis sudibusque**] *sudes* were bolts of wood sharpened or charred at the end, cp. Caesar B.G. V. 40 *multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium pilorum numerus instituitur*, Verg. Aen. XI. 473 *saxa sudesque subvectant*.

ceteris] 'every other kind of.'

4 **promovendo**] this is not a common use of the gerund: contrast the normal use such as *promovendo adiungebant muro turrem* 'they applied the belfry to the wall by moving it forward' with the present passage 'they saw the belfry applied to the wall by (men) moving it forward,' where the subject of *promovendo* is not the subject of the main verb *viderunt*. Other instances of this are quoted from VIII. 11 § 1, IX. 5 § 11, etc.

simul] 'all at once.'

5 **eruptio...portis**] 'a sortie from the town by two gates at once.'

6 **solute ac neglegenter agentes**] 'displaying a careless negligence,' cp. XXXIX. 1 § 4 *solute ac neglegenter habiti sunt*. *agere* 'act,' 'conduct oneself,' in such phrases with adverbs denotes a person's general behaviour, cp. XXIX. 32 § 2 *incuriosius agentes*, also Tacitus Hist. IV. 48.

9 **temerariae spei**] dative after *committi* 'nothing was being staked on a rash hope.'

10 **Grumentum**] this place is supposed to have been situated on the river Agri between the villages of Saponara and Montemurro in the Basilicata. A battle was fought here in 207. See Kromayer-Veith III. 414 foll.

Longo] Ti. Sempronius Longus, cos. 218.

11 **ad**] 'to the number of,' slightly different from *ad* with round numbers signifying 'about.'

12 **Hirpinis**] see I § I.

Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum] the exact position of these towns is not known.

13 **alia**] equivalent to *cetera*, so in 40 § 5 *alius exercitus* 'the rest of the army.'

CHAPTER XXXVIII

1 **ab supero mari ad inferum**] cp. note on I § 5.

3 **percunctando in vicem**] it is obvious that the 'mutual' inquiry resulted in information to each party: Gracchus ascertained that the five ships were not enemy ships, and the commander of the five ships heard that the consul was at Cumae. Livy leaves out half of the result.

4 **consignata omnia**] 'everything under seal.'

devehi] 'to be taken to their destination.'

5 **cura patris incessit**] cp. II. 7 § I *tantus terror Tarquinium...incessit.*

6 **adeo non...hostem**] 'so far from succumbing to it they at once began to debate by what method they might take the initiative (*ultro*) in attacking the enemy and so divert him from Italy.'

7 **P. Valerius Flaccus**] cp. 32 §§ 16, 17.

8 **additis quinque navibus**] these five ships were taken from the fleet of 25 ships under the command of Flaccus, cp. 34 § 9 and 32 § 17. Livy therefore counts them twice over, consequently the final total should be 50 not 55 as in § 9.

Ostia] a town at the mouth of the Tiber, the port of Rome.

9 **militibus Varronianis**] Varro's troops, called *Terentianum exercitum* in 32 § 16 after his gentile name Terentius.

explorare] 'find out': he was to cruise about off the coasts of Italy and Greece and pick up information about the enemy's resources and plans.

10 **ut...faceret**] a slight change of construction after *iussus...explorare*, cp. XXXVIII. 36 § 9 *iussi...scribere, et ut...imperarent.*

11 **L. Apustio...praeposito**] Apustius who as deputy (*legatus*) for Valerius Flaccus had been in command of the Varronian troops is now transferred to the command of the new force summoned from Sicily which was to take their place, cp. 31 § 4, 32 § 16.

transmitteret] 'cross over' used intransitively.

12 **quae...regi]** we learn from 21 § 5 that Hiero provided the Romans with a large sum of money for the pay of their troops in Sicily and Sardinia. The Roman state had arranged to repay the loan and had sent the money to Appius Claudius to be handed over to Hiero, but before this was done the state requisitions it for the expenses of the Macedonian War. At the same time (*simul*) Hiero, possibly in the expectation of receiving back his loan, supplies the Romans with a large quantity of wheat and barley.

CHAPTER XXXIX

1 **parant aguntque]** cp. 26 § 1 *dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque.*

2 **legatis suis]** dative: 'what agreements had been made between his envoys and Hannibal.'

adlaturi fuissent] 'had been intending to bring.'

3 **Scotino]** this is clearly σκοτεινός, an epithet applied to the philosopher Heraclitus because of his obscurity of thought and language. We do not know why this Heraclitus should have been so called. Perhaps an early copyist in a reflective mood scribbled the name on the margin and a subsequent scribe gravely transferred it to the text. So in transcribing Propertius IV. 21. 16 one copyist wrote *qualiscunque mihi tuque Johanna vale.*

Magnes] Magnesian, a native of Magnesia, the east-coast district of Thessaly.

prospere] Nägelsbach Lat. Styl. 224 points out that *prospere* is hardly required with *tulerunt ac retulerunt*; he compares as exceptional XXXVII. 5 § 2 *ipse...Romam profectus cum prospere pervenisset* where *pervenisset* sufficiently indicates the successful accomplishment of the journey.

4 **se aestas circumegit]** 'the summer went by': cp. IX. 18 § 15 *in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus*, 33 § 4 *circumactis decem et octo mensibus.*

navis una capta] 'the capture of one ship,' cp. 41 § 1 *Hasdrubal imperator captus* 'the capture of Hasdrubal.'

tantum...momenti fecit] for the idea cp. XXV. 18 § 3 *sed in bello nihil tam leve est quod non magnae interdum rei momentum faciat.*

5 **transgresso Volturnum Fabio]** Livy's narrative is here hopelessly confused. If Fabius captured Combulteria it must have been before he

crossed the Volturnus, or he may have detached a small force for the purpose. Combulteria is no doubt the Samnite town situated on the *right* bank of the Volturnus which here runs in a south-easterly direction before its sharp bend between Caiatia and Saticula, after which it flows westerly past Casilinum to the sea. Fabius crossing from Cales would of course be on the *left* bank. Another objection raised by Kromayer is that Fabius would never have been so rash as to march towards Nola between Capua and Hannibal's camp on Tifata. He thinks that Livy is confusing two movements of Fabius, the first in a north-easterly direction towards Combulteria, and a subsequent march southwards across the Volturnus towards Nola, undertaken not while Hannibal was on Tifata, but after he had left that position, cp. 43 § 5 *ipse* (Hannibal) *praesidio modico relicto in Tifatis profectus cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit*. See Introduction, p. xvi.

6 **Trebulam**] said to be the modern village of Treglia, near the site of Combulteria. This must be distinguished from the Trebulanus ager near Saticula mentioned in 14 § 13. Nothing seems to be known about Austicula.

7 **et Nolae...inibantur**] as Soltau remarks, p. 143, the wording of this passage does not suggest that there had been an important battle fought at Nola the year before, such as is described in 15—17; compare too the wording of XXIV. 13 § 8 where Livy seems to forget that he has already described two victories of Marcellus at Nola. The confusion seems to be due to the historian's habit of drawing his information from different sources without any critical examination of the evidence.

8 **propraetorem**] in 43 § 12 Marcellus is called *praetor*, but in 41 § 10 as here *propraetor*; in 30 § 19 he is said to have had the proconsular *imperium*. He was one of the praetors of 216.

Chapter XL

1 **praetorem**] T. Manlius Torquatus had taken the place of Q. Mucius, the governor of Sardinia who was incapacitated by illness, 34 § 11, § 15. Though strictly a propraetor Manlius is given the title of the governor for whom he is acting.

2 **Caralis**] originally a Tyrian colony, finely situated on the south coast of Sardinia. Its modern name Cagliari shows that at some time the name was pronounced Calaris, and Professor Gwatkin, in the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, Vol. I. c. 5, twice writes it thus without comment.

navalibus sociis] according to 34 § 13 Q. Fulvius Flaccus sent 5000 infantry and 4000 cavalry to Sardinia under the command of Manlius, who was to take over the command of the army already in the island. These two forces combined, together with the *navales socii*, amounted to 22,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry.

3 **Pellitos Sardos**] the natives of the interior mountain district who wore *pelles* which they called *mastrucae*. So Propertius IV. I. 11 says that the ancestors of the Roman senators were skin-clad rustics *curia, praetexto quae nunc nitet alta senatu, | pellitos habuit, rustica corda, patres.*

4 **adulescentia...inito**] 'with the impetuosity of youth rashly engaged in battle.'

5 **alius exercitus**] cp. 37 § 13 *praeda alia.*

Cornum] Cornus, a town on the west coast.

6 **debellatum**] *debellare* 'to fight to a finish,' 'bring a war to an end': cp. 13 § 6 *debellatumque mox fore...rebantur*, 33 § 11 *ubi debellatum esset Italia omnis...Hannibalis esset.*

ad Baliaris] cp. 34 § 16.

ad spem] 'to inspire hope of a successful rebellion.'

8 **in terram expositis**] *exponere* is often used of disembarking troops, as *imponere* is of embarking; cp. 41 § 7.

duce] 'under the guidance of': Hasdrubal would not be 'under the command of' Hampsicora.

populandum] Livy uses *populari*, *depopulari*, *perpopulari* with no particular difference of meaning, except that the prepositions add emphasis.

perventurus erat] 'was on the point of arriving at': almost equivalent to 'would have arrived at,' as is shown by the following *ni... continuisset.*

obvio exercitu] 'by sending a force to meet him.'

9 **obiecta**] 'pitched opposite,' cp. *castra castris conferrent* 28 § 9.

descensum in aciem] *descendere* in such phrases has almost lost its original sense of going down to a lower level, cp. 29 § 2 *omnibus copiis in campum descensum est.* It was commonly used at Rome of persons who went down to the arena for athletic contests or to the forum for contested elections, cp. VII. 18 § 9, and thus came to be used in the general sense of entering on a conflict.

signis conlatis] cp. 49 § 13.

10 **pugnam ancipitem...fecerunt**] *ancipitem* is here the predicate

'made the issue of the battle doubtful,' cp. 45 § 1 *proelium erat anceps*: distinguish this from *anceps proelium* in 29 § 10 where see note. The general sense is 'the Carthaginians long maintained a stubborn fight and made the issue doubtful, while their Sardinian allies were in the habit of being easily conquered.'

omnia circa] equivalent to *omnia quae circa erant.*

CHAPTER XLI

1 **captus**] 'the capture of,' cp. 39 § 4.

Hanno et Mago] this is not the Hanno of 37 § 11, and Mago is a different person from the Mago, Hannibal's brother, who was dispatched from Carthage to Spain, 32 § 11, and from the Mago of 34 § 2. There seems to have been a singular paucity of names among the higher ranks of the Carthaginians.

2 **Sardis**] governed by the sense of *auctor* 'adviser,' 'instigator.'

concitor] frequent in Livy and Tacitus for the earlier *concitator*.

4 **ut**] 'as soon as.'

super] often thus used in Livy of one thing coming, as we say, 'on the top of' another, cp. *aliam super aliam* 24 § 6, 36 § 10.

adflictas res] 'the overthrow of his fortunes,' cp. 11 § 11 *post adflictam rem Romanam.*

ne cuius] 'lest anyone's.'

5 **quae ante**] cp. 40 § 5.

fugae receptaculum] is *fugae* genitive or dative? I think the latter; then there will be a double dative *ceteris...fugae* 'to the rest Cornus was, as before, a place of refuge for the fugitives' (*fugae=fugientibus*). But WM seem to take *fugae* as a genitive.

victore exercitu] note that substantives in *-tor* are frequently used as adjectives: cp. Cic. p. Milone 50 *ille latronum occultator et receptor locus* where Dr Reid says 'many words in *-tor* and *-trix* are thus used in apposition to nouns, and often become almost adjectival. The commonest are *bellator*, *victor*, *venator*, *ultor*, *ultrix*.'

6 **pro...delicto**] 'proportioned to their respective resources or guilt.'

7 **quaestoribus**] the tribute collected in Sardinia would be handed over to the quaestors as the financial officials.

aedilibus] the aediles had charge of the food supply at Rome.

Q. Fulvio] Q. Fulvius Flaccus was praetor urbanus 32 § 18, and had organised the expeditionary force for Sardinia 34 § 13.

8 **T. Otacilius praetor**] he had been propraetor of Sicily in 216, cp. 21 § 1, and was now in command of the fleet, 32 § 20. Praetor is therefore used here in the general sense of commander, cp. 40 § 1.

classi] the ablative of certain substantives of the third declension varied in its termination, cp. § 14 *igni*, 14 § 13 *amni*, 31 § 9 *canali*.

depopulatus] cp. note on *populandum* 40 § 8.

10 **Bomilcar**] in 27 § 9 we read that Hasdrubal was commissioned to lead an army into Italy, in 29 § 17 that this was found impossible, in 32 § 5 that Mago was to conduct the expedition in his place, in 32 § 12 that Mago was sent to Spain instead; now we learn that the expeditionary force arrived at last under the command of Bomilcar, escaping the observation of Otacilius who was patrolling the sea between Sicily and Africa. For this negligence Otacilius was severely reprimanded by Q. Fabius, cp. XXIV. 8 §§ 13—17.

elephantisque] a force of elephants is mentioned in 18 § 6 as operating in Italy, though in XXII. 2 § 10 it was stated that in Hannibal's invasion only one elephant reached Italy alive. If both statements are correct it follows that some reinforcements, of which we are told nothing, must have reached Italy before the expedition under Bomilcar. These were of course African elephants. Pyrrhus employed Indian elephants.

11 **per simulationem**] 'under the pretext of cp. *per causam* often used of a pretended reason.

vento aestuque suo] see Appendix: 'with favourable wind and tide'; for this use of *suus* 'one's own,' hence 'what one would choose for oneself,' 'favourable,' cp. Caesar B.C. I. 61 § 3 *suis locis*.

12 **Locrenses**] Livy having just used *Locri* of the town, here uses *Locrenses* of the inhabitants, though strictly speaking *Locri* means 'the Locrians,' and is apparently so used in XXII. 61 § 12, cp. 30 § 8.

magno conatu] 'for all his efforts.'

13 **Marcellus**] Livy here reverts to the narrative suspended at the end of 39.

Samnites Caudinos] the Samnites in the neighbourhood of Caudium S.W. of Beneventum. Caudium gave its name to the 'Caudine forks' where the Roman army under the consuls T. Venturius and Sp. Postumius was entrapped and forced to surrender in 321, cp. IX. 2—6.

14 **antiquarum cladium**] they had suffered many defeats in the three Samnite wars, the most serious and decisive at Sentinum in 295 in which the power of the Samnites and their Keltic allies was finally broken.

Chapter XLII

1 **ex utraque gente]** the Hirpini and the Samnites are here regarded as different *gentes*, 'nations,' though the former was really a branch of the latter.

2 **postquam...fidebamus]** for the construction see note on 27 § 1.

Pyrrho] Pyrrhus king of Epirus invaded Italy in 280 to support the independence of the Greek city of Tarentum and, after making himself master of the other Greek communities of Italy and Sicily, to proceed to the subjugation of Carthage.

3 **relicti]** 'abandoned.' The Italian allies of Pyrrhus bitterly resented what they thought his premature abandonment of Italy, first in 278 and again in 274. The final reconciliation between Samnium and Rome was completed in 268 by the grant of the *ius suffragii*. From this date to 218 is just 50 years, as the speaker says. WM reckon the peace with Samnium as beginning 272, at which date the consuls Sp. Carvilius Maximus and L. Papirius Cursor celebrated a triumph over Samnites, Lucanians, Tarentines, Bruttians. In that case the interval will be 54 years.

4 **non modo]** a common and intelligible abbreviation for *non modo non*.

si fas est dici] the speaker apologises for the boldness of his assertion that they did not fear even the anger of heaven.

timeremus] consecutive subjunctive, 'we feared.'

5 **victore]** the verbal noun balances *incolumi* as an adjective, see note on 41 § 5.

prope] 'almost.'

exaudire] 'catch the sound of': the word is used of hearing sounds from some way off.

te...torpere] 'that you have strength for only one blow and that you are like the bee that falls torpid when its sting is discharged.' The exhaustion and death of the bee after discharging its sting were familiar to the Romans, cp. Verg. Georg. IV. 237 *spicula caeca relinquont | adfixae venis, animasque in volnere ponunt.*

6 **per annos centum]** see note on 5 § 8.

externo] presumably means non-Italian; they were aided by the Etruscans whom they probably reckon as a constituent part of their forces.

per biennium] 280 to 278, see note on § 3.

7 **duos consules]** see note on 41 § 13.

aut] note the disjunctive: a battle even if not successful, *laetum*, may be creditable, *gloriosum*, to the vanquished.

8 **aspera adversaque**] 'bitter reverses': the two adjectives tend to coalesce and form a single idea.

9 **magni dictatores**] the dictators referred to seem to be L. Papirius Cursor 325 (VIII. 29 § 9), L. Aemilius Mamercinus 316 (IX. 21 § 1), Q. Fabius Maximus 315 (IX. 22 § 1), C. Maenius 314 (IX. 26 § 7), C. Poetelius 313 (IX. 28 § 2), L. Papirius Cursor 309 (IX. 38 § 14). The last-mentioned is apparently the same person as the dictator of 325, but there is some confusion in the history of the Papirii.

bini consules] it frequently happened that both consuls were engaged in the Samnite war. Official notices of triumphs by both consuls over the Samnites occur in 343, 322, 311, 294, 293, 272.

ante explorato] 'after previous reconnaissance'; this impersonal use of the ablative absolute of the perfect participle is fairly common, cp. 43 § 7.

subsidiis positis] 'with reserves in position.'

sub signis] 'under their proper standards,' i.e. in full array, thoroughly equipped and ready for action. He contrasts the elaborate military preparations that used to be required for dealing with the Samnites with the present condition.

ducebant] the subject *consules* and the object *exercitus* are easily supplied from the context.

10 **propraetoris**] see note on 39 § 8.

manipulatim] 'in companies.'

totis finibus nostris] 'throughout our territories': ablative of place.

12 **norim**] subjunctive of the present perfect *novi*, hence the sequence *nec norim nisi ducam* is regular.

populatores nostros] 'our devastators,' meaning 'the men who are devastating us.'

palatos] here and elsewhere equivalent to the present *palantes*, a trace of the earlier Latin in which the perfect participle had no special past significance. This usage is most common in deponent verbs.

13 **praesidiumque...ademeris**] the text is extremely doubtful, see Appendix. Some such word as *addideris* is supported by Hannibal's reference, 43 § 1, to their request for a garrison.

Chapter XLIII

2 **indicandum**] the omission of a substantive seems harsh: did Livy write *indicandum primum fuisse damnum*?

3 **repleturum**] 'satiate.'

metu] 'by intimidation.'

4 **Cannarum se quoque...facturum**] 'he would obscure the record even of Cannae': if the words are read with the right intonation there is no need to alter *se quoque* to *quoque se*.

6 **supplemento**] cp. 41 § 6.

longe...audierat] 'he found out on inquiry that everything was widely different from what he had heard.'

7 **temere**] this word though placed before *hosti commissum* equally belongs to *fortunae commissum*.

explorato] cp. 42 § 9 *ante explorato*.

cum firmisque] Livy prefers the sound of this to *cumque firmis*.

omniaque...fuerant] 'every precaution and provision had been taken.'

10 **obterit**] 'depreciates,' 'runs down,' cp. XXIV. 15 § 7 *cum...Poenus mancipia Romana et ex ergastulo militem verbis obtereret*.

senescentem] 'sinking into dotage.'

11 **Italici**] a more comprehensive term than *Latini*.

societatem atque amicitiam] see note on 33 § 6, and cp. § 14.

12 **possit**] in direct speech *potest*, cp. 27 § 11.

14 **casura forent**] in direct speech *casura sint*: Livy uses *forem* as a mere equivalent of *essem*.

tradidissent] in the speaker's words *traderitis* 'if you shall surrender.'

venirent] in direct speech this would be *veniatis*: cp. Cicero Nat. Deorum II § 12 *homini natura rationem dedit qua regerentur animi appetitus*, Roby § 1622.

Chapter XLIV

1 **multos annos**] Nola had been a *civitas foederata* from about 312, cp. IX. 28 § 5.

cuius neutros...paenitere] *cuius = atque eius*, and so the accusative and infinitive construction is carried on. Livy might have written *cuius neutros...poeniteret*; cp. XXIV. 3 § 7 *fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi cuius cinerem nullus unquam moveat ventus* where there is some

indication in the MSS that Livy wrote *cuius cinerem nullo unquam moveri vento* which would be equally good Latin.

sero iam esse] 'it is now too late.'

2 **an dedituris praesidium**] 'what was the use of sending for a Roman garrison if men were going to surrender to Hannibal?'

ad ultimum] 'to the end': the words sometimes mean 'at the end,' 'finally.'

4 **successisse muris**] the dative is frequent after *succedere*, but cp. 16 § 12 *succedit ad muros*, 43 § 9 *ad murum successisset.* The use with *ad* brings out the gradual approach, the dative rather expresses the actual arrival. It is also followed by the accusative, cp. XXXVIII. 9 § 7 *succedens murum.*

memorabilisque inter paucas] 'memorable among few,' that is, among the few memorable battles this would have been exceptionally memorable: cp. XXII. 7 § 1 *inter paucas memorata clades.*

5 **Romani, Poeni**] notice the trick of style whereby the order of words is reversed.

nam] explanatory of *modico certamine*; it was a slight skirmish, *for* only a few were killed.

6 **continens...tenuit**] 'continuous...lasted': *per* follows *tenuit* not *continens*, cp. II. 3 § 5 *per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit.*

tamen] notice the unusual position of *tamen* as fifth word in the clause. WM give instances of its occurrence as fourth word.

7 **detractavit**] cp. II. 46 § 1 *instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detractant*; some such word as *proelium* can easily be supplied.

omnia campi] 'everything is level plain,' 'there is nothing but level ground.' Nola was situated in a plain, cp. 45 § 10 *Nolam campestrem urbem.*

Chapter XLV

1 **anceps**] 'evenly balanced,' 'critical,' see note on 40 § 10.

ante diem tertium] two days before, cp. 44 § 5. The Romans reckoned inclusively, on Wednesday *ante diem tertium* would be Monday.

ante paucos dies] cp. 37 §§ 5, 6.

2 **omnibusque lustris**] 'every kind of debauchery,' cp. Cicero Phil. II. § 6 *vino lustrisque confectus*, Fam. XII. 2 § 1 *quae autem in lustris et in vino commentatio potuit esse?* The word, connected with λῦμα,

lutum, signifies the muddy lair of a wild beast, and so any haunt of dirt and vice, cp. Vergil Georg. II. 471 *saltus ac lustra ferarum*. It is also etymologically connected with λούω, *lavo*, in the sense of spilling or pouring out of water, 'washing,' and is thus used of purificatory or 'lustral' rites.

3 **reliquias**] in a contemptuous sense, 'the feeble residue.'

5 **hosti**] dative loosely constructed with *haec exprobrando* 'by uttering these taunts against the enemy.'

multo...increpabat] 'urged against his men much graver taunts.'

6 **viderit habueritque**] in direct speech *vidi habuique* 'which I have seen and handled.'

profecto] 'to be sure.' Hannibal has to acknowledge that his army after its sojourn in Capua had altered for the worse.

7 **legatum**] Hannibal is now opposed merely by 'a legate,' as he styles Marcellus, whereas at Cannae he fought against two consuls and two consular armies. Marcellus was really propraetor.

8 **tirone milite**] for *tiro* used adjectivally cp. XXI. 39 § 3 *exercitu accepto tirone*, XXII. 41 § 5 *tironum militum*. In English such grammatical distinctions are so nearly lost that almost any substantive can be used as an adjective.

caput abstulit] in XXII. 6 § 4 we are told that an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius rode at the consul and transfixed him with a lance.

occidit] for the death of Paulus at Cannae cp. XXII. 49 § 12.

9 **hebet**] 'is blunt,' a poetical word first used in prose by Livy.

fortes lingua] 'with brave words.'

Chapter XLVI

1 **nec bene nec male dicta**] 'no words good or bad,' 'neither praise nor abuse.'

3 **inclinatior ad Poenos**] cp. 39 § 7 *plebs Hannibalis erat*.

4 **et duo elephanti...occisi**] Hannibal here has six elephants with his force; see note on 43 § 6. At a later date, 211, we read that he had 33, cp. XXVI. 5 § 3.

5 **indutiis tacitis**] 'by a tacit truce' they spent the next day in burying (*sepeliendo*): cp. II. 18 § 11, 64 § 8.

Vulcano votum] 'in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan,' appositional accusative. WM refer to I. 37 § 5 *spoliis hostium (id votum Vulcano*

erat) *ingenti cumulo accensis.* Burnt sacrifices are of immemorial antiquity.

6 **spem**] governed by *ob*, though *ob spem* is an unusual expression; possibly Livy wrote *spe*, for which *spē* (=*spem*) might easily be substituted.

forti fidelique] the two words are constantly associated, cp. 16 § 1.

8 **cum quibus venerat copiis**] for *cum eis copiis cum quibus venerat.*

Arpos] an important town of Apulia, a few miles east of Luceria. Its ruins are near the modern village of Foggia.

9 **per hiberna**] 'during the winter occupation,' almost equivalent to *per hiemem.*

11 **sex milia**] Varro is represented as saying, 5 § 15, that the Campanians could raise 30,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry; in 35 § 13 it is stated that Marius Alfius was in command of 14,000 men.

12 **indidem**] 'of that place,' viz. Capua.

13 **perlustrans oculis**] 'closely scanning' the enemy's ranks.

obequitasset] *obequitare* with dative 'to ride up to,' cp. 1 § 6 *obequitare portis.*

14 **solitus esset**] the subject is Claudius Asellus.

opima spolia] when the commander of an army killed the enemy commander he won the *spolia opima*, as Marcellus had won them by killing Virdomarus, see note on 14 § 10, but the two officers here mentioned were neither of them in command of their respective forces, but were merely self-constituted champions, like David and Goliath. Hence *spolia opima* is not here used in its strictest sense. There seem to have been three grades of this distinction, cp. MM v. 561.

Chapter XLVII

1 **id**] cognate accusative, not direct accusative after *moratus*: 'waiting only so far as to ask the consul,' or more briefly 'waiting only to ask the consul.'

extra ordinem] 'irregularly,' 'independently,' almost equivalent to *iniussu*, cp. VII. 12 § 12 *his consiliis dictator bellum trahebat, gravemque edixeret poenam, si quis iniussu in hostem pugnasset*, and VIII. 6 § 16 *edicunt consules, ne quis extra ordinem in hostem pugnaret.* See also XXV. 18 § 12 where a similar story is told.

4 **ferocibus dictis**] there would be no harm in translating this 'with fierce speeches,' see note on 7 § 7, cp. § 6 *verbis ferocior quam re.*

rem nobilitassent] 'had made the affair notorious.'

ludificantes] 'feinting.'

5 **cavam hanc viam**] cp. 1 § 16.

6 **dicto...deiecit**] 'no sooner said than done: Claudius plunged his horse into the lane.'

minime sis...fossam] *sis* for *si vis* 'please': *cantherius* is probably the same word as κανθήλιος said to mean a donkey; perhaps used with an allusion to his opponent's name Asellus. A verb such as *demitte* or *demiseris*, or *deice* or *deiceris*, can easily be supplied from the context. The whole expression seems to be slang, 'do keep your dicky out of the ditch,' 'don't stick your old ass into the ditch.' The story is rather beneath the dignity of history. A similar encounter between a Roman and a Campanian champion, perhaps a duplicate version of this, is recorded in xxv. 18.

8 **quam vera sit**] 'people may form their own opinion of its truth': the reference, as the position of the words between *rem* and *mirabilem* shows, is to the alleged miraculous passing of Claudius unharmed through Capua in pursuit of his foe.

Chapter XLVIII

1 **segetibus**] 'the corn-fields.' The consul not only allowed them to sow their seed but postponed any further attack on their territory (which he had previously laid waste with fire and sword, 46 § 9) till the crops had grown sufficiently to provide fodder. This he appropriated to his own use. *herbae* is often used of the growing blades of corn, cp. Caesar B. C. I. 48 § 5 *neque frumenta in herbis* (?) *erant neque multum a maturitate aberant*, Livy xxv. 15 § 18 *frumenta quae iam in herbis erant.*

poterant] for the mood and tense see note on 30 § 4.

2 **hiberna aedificavit**] this implies substantial wooden huts: the troops were to winter *sub tectis* not *sub pellibus.* See Introduction, p. xvii note.

dimitteret] the reason for sending troops back to Rome seems insufficient. With Hannibal in the neighbourhood one would have expected the whole available force to be kept in the field.

3 **M. Valerium**] he was in command of the Sicilian legions in Apulia, 32 § 2.

Sallentini] a tribe occupying the south and west coast of Calabria.

The Iapygian promontory was sometimes called promontorium Sallentinum.

4 **haec gesta perscripsimus**] not 'we have written down these events' but 'we have described these things as having taken place.'

in Hispania] cp. 26—29.

omnia] every necessary was lacking to the navy, the army lacked pay, food and clothing.

5 **teneri**] the same verb is here used in the sense of 'maintaining' the army and 'holding' the district. Livy again uses the word *provincia* loosely of a district occupied and administered by Rome, though strictly speaking Spain was not then constituted a Roman *provincia*; in § 7 the word is correctly used of Sicily and Sardinia which were provinces.

6 **tuerentur**] 'they were supporting.'

7 **vectigales**] the *vectigal* in the provinces was a tax levied on land and its produce, varying according to local conditions.

praesides] *praeses*, often a general term for a provincial governor, is here used of a protecting force, cp. 34 § 12.

tributo] the *vectigalia* being insufficient, expenses had to be met by the *tributum*, a personal tax paid by Roman citizens.

8 **qui superessent...peste**] 'if the few survivors were burdened by an indefinite increase of tribute, that would be another ruinous disaster': in addition to the *strages* of war they would suffer from the *pestis* of impoverishment. For *simplex* and *duplex tributum* cp. note on 31 § 1.

stipendio] the *tributum* was a war tax and was mainly used for the pay of the soldiers, hence *stipendium* is equivalent to *tributum* viewed from a different standpoint. The *tributum* was a regular tax and not a loan, though on one occasion, 210, cp. XXVI. 36, we read that the people subscribed a voluntary loan. Now and then, if there was a surplus, the government returned a portion to the contributors as in 187, cp. XXXIX. 7 § 4. MM V. 157 foll.

9 **itaque...staturam**] 'and so in default of a basis of credit the state would never be securely based on wealth.'

10 **prodeundum necessitates**] the government was urged then, as it is now, to take the people into its confidence and explain to them exactly what the needs of the crisis were.

redempturis] 'by contracts.' The *publicani*, tax-farmers, who formed themselves into *societates*, 49 § 1. contracted to supply the necessary amount of taxation, and they often made a profit out of the transaction

by extorting from the inhabitants more than was required and pocketing the difference.

tempus commodarent] the text is doubtful, see Appendix.

11 **ea**] neuter plural, the antecedent of *quae.*

exercitum Hispaniensem] the Roman army in Spain; see note on 28 § 8.

12 **quoque die.. locaturus**] 'and he stated on what day he would issue the contracts for' etc.

Chapter XLIX

1 **societates**] this is said to be the earliest mention of these associations of *publicani.*

undeviginti] I take this to mean that the three societies together comprised nineteen members, not that each contained nineteen.

2 **dum in eo publico essent**] 'while they were engaged on this public service.'

ab...essent] 'should be secured at the public risk (by the state) from damage by the enemy or by storms.' WM quote XXV. 3 § 10 *publicum periculum erat a vi tempestatis in eis quae portarentur ad exercitus.*

3 **privataque...est**] 'the business of the state was carried on by private resources.'

ei mores...pertinebat] 'such habits of mind, such patriotism, prevailed one might say (*velut*) with unbroken uniformity among all ranks.' The word *mores* has no exact equivalent in English, though the substantive 'moral' might be used as it is in French. The word 'morale' affected by English journalists is a different word and is wrongly used for the masculine substantive 'moral.'

4 **quem ad modum...praebita**] 'as all contracts were made in a magnanimous spirit, so they were discharged with the utmost loyalty.'

parcius militibus datum quam] see Appendix.

5 **cum**] strictly temporal 'at the time when,' hence the indicative.

Iliturgi] said to be Espelui a town or village somewhere near Montoro on the Guadalquivir, north-east of Cordova, and a few miles west of Castulo. Livy seems to describe the operations at Iliturgi over again in XXIV. 41 among the events of 214.

Bomilcaris] probably the Bomilcar of 41 § 10.

7 **ducunt**] 'lead their forces': the object *exercitum* or *copias* is often omitted after *ducere.*

8 **duo duces**] Mago and Hannibal.

9 **rem summam agi**] 'that the situation was an extremely critical one.'

sedecim circa] 'about sixteen'; note the position of *circa* and its use for the more common *circiter*.

10 **adeo haud dubia**] 'so far from indecisive.'

12 **Intibili**] there was an Intibili near the east coast of Spain not far from the mouth of the Ebro, but this place must have been somewhere near Iliturgi.

ut quae maxime omnium] lit. 'as one that is most (eager) of all,' 'in a degree beyond all the rest': cp. the Greek use of εἴ τις ἄλλος.

avida] ablative agreeing with *provincia* with which also *abundante* agrees. Here again Livy uses the anachronism *provincia* of Spain.

13 **signis conlatis**] cp. 40 § 9.

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

For this portion of Livy the chief MS is the codex Puteanus (P), named after its original possessor Claudius Puteanus. It was probably written in the Vth century and is now preserved in the national library in Paris (No. 5730). There are two other MSS of some importance, Colbertinus (C), written in the Xth or XIth century, now in the Paris Library (No. 5731), and Mediceus (M), in the Laurentian library at Florence, written in the XIth century. The readings of P are given in full by A. Luchs in his critical edition of Bks XXI to XXV published in the Weidmann series in 1888. He does not give those of C and M except in certain parts of XXI where P is lacking. The readings of other later MSS are not separately cited by him but grouped under one symbol (ς). Now and then Weissenborn-Müller in the short critical Appendix at the end of their commentary give the readings of C and M. I have also occasionally consulted Alschefski's useful but cumbrous edition (1846). The scribe of P was evidently a very careless and uncritical copyist. The MS was frequently altered or corrected by later hands denoted by Luchs P^2, P^3, P^4. In the following appendix I have only mentioned variations of reading that seem of importance or interest.

1 1 **haec Hannibal post Cannensem pugnam capta ac direpta** P. *castra* inserted before *capta* ς. No certain restoration is now possible.

Trebio added by Gronovius, P omits.

3 **Mopsiani urbe** most editors after Gronovius: *compsam urbem* P.

3 6 **deque eorum** Madvig: *de quorum* P, which may be right.

13 **occurrebant** P. I see no reason to adopt *occurrerant* after Voss and recent editors.

4 4 **actum** ς, *act* P, *agi* Madvig, Luchs, WL.

8 **et** Crévier, *et quod* P followed by WL.

5 6 **binis** Gronovius, *vinis* P[1], *ruinis* P[2].

9 **deditis** Gron., *dedistis* P, *dediticiis* Alschefski, WL, WM.

11 **indigena** P?, ς have *indigenam* (so Madvig) or *indigenam sed.*

15 **scribi posse** Lipsius, *scripsisse* P.

6 1 **ab hac** Gron., *hac* P.

8 **quod quia** Ascensius, *quia* P.

alii id haud Aldus, *aliisitant* P, *aliis ita ut* C.

praetermissuri erant Madvig, whom I doubtfully follow; *praetermiserint* Bauer, WM, WL; *praetermiserant* P.

ponere P, *id ponere* WL; either *quod* before *quia* or *id* before *ponere* seems required.

7 1 **condicionibus eis** (or *iis*) Madvig, *condicionibus* WM, *condicionis* P, *his conditionibus* ς.

3 **expirarunt** Heusinger, *expirarent* P, Madvig.

6 **se Romanis** ς, *Romanis sed* P, *Romanis se* Luchs, which seems too abrupt.

9 **enixe** editors, **enixae** P. I wish Livy had written *sed favore etiam volgi et enixo studio visendi*; cp. XLII 3 *faciebat enixo studio.*

10 **privato** Gron., *privatim* P.

11 **ut ipse** P. I see no reason for changing *ut* to *et* as the editors do.

8 6 **diti ac luxuriosa** Kreysig and Gronovius, *divadvariosa* P.

7 **perpelli ad potandum** Madvig, *perholaviniim* P, *perholla perpelli ad vinum* ς, *perlici ad vinum* Heerwagen, WM, Luchs.

8 **convivio** P[2], *sanguineo* P[1].

9 There is much confusion in the MSS here, and various alterations are possible though none can be considered certain. The chief readings to notice are *venia* P, *impetravi* P[1], *impetrari* P[2], *gratis* P[1], *gratia* P[2], *simus* P: by reading *veniam*, *impetrare*, and *gratia esse possimus* good sense can be obtained: this was proposed by Müller.

11 **abesse** Frobenius, *adesse* P.

9 3 **ut** P, *vis* Madvig.

armaremus P, *armemus* Madvig.

4 **cruentares** P, Luchs; *cruentes* Madvig, WM: I am not convinced by Madvig's argument that the present is required after *surgis*, Em. Liv. 317.

7 **sustinere nequeunt** Gron., *sustineren* P, *sustinere nequivere* Wölfflin.

ut alia Drakenborch, *italis* P[1], *talis* P[2], *et alia* ς.

11 **defectionis** Gron., *defectione inissa* P^1, *defectione imissa* P^2, *defectionem inisti* ς.

10 6 **ante lictorem** P, *a lictore* Koch.

11 1 **divi divaeque** Bekker, *dividique* P^1, *divinique* altered to *divique* P^2.

5 **a (ab) templi** Gron., *atempt* P^1.

7 **quae** ς, *quaeq.* P, *quaeque aliae* Müller; others propose to insert *Lucanorumque* or *Apulorumque*.

9 After *cepisse* recent editors insert *bina castra expugnasse*, a statement historically correct, but why assume that Livy wrote it?

12 1 **supra tris** Madvig, *dimidium superpatris* P^1, *dimidium supertris* P^2: the *patris* of P^1 is due to confusion between *super* and *supra*, but how did *dimidium* arise? I suggest that Livy wrote *in medio*, an expression which he constantly uses: they measured out the spoil in public.

2 **equites** Luterbacher, *equitum* P.

4 **frumenti et pecuniae** Madvig, *frumenti pecuniae* P, *et* or *pecuniaque* ς seems necessary; but see Cic. p. Fonteio 26 *frumentum pecuniam...dare coacti sunt.*

10 **respondeo** or **respondebo** Madvig, *respondead* P^1, *respondeam* P^2.

13 5 **inani spe** Gron., *inanique* P^1.

7 **quattuor milia Numidarum** P, but Drakenborch, Heusinger, Müller, think that the number of infantry to be sent has dropped out, and supply *quattuor et viginti milia peditum, quattuor Numidarum* or something similar.

argenti talenta P, the number of talents must have been stated, perhaps *mille argenti talenta* Alschefski: numerals denoted by abbreviations are especially liable to corruption or omission, cp. 14 § 4 where *m* (*milibus*) is omitted in P.

8 **dictatorque** P, but the appellation of *dictator* without the person's name is hardly likely to be right, hence critics propose to supply some such name as *Bostar* or *Carthalo* in place of or in addition to *dictator*.

14 8 **secunda simulando** C, *secunda simulanda simulando* P, *obsecundando* Gron.

13 **Caiatiam** Stier, *galatiam* P, *Calatiam* ς: the same confusion between *Calatia* and *Caiatia* seems to occur in XXII 13 § 16.

15 4 **remanserint** or **remansissent** ς, *remanserant* P, *remanerent* or *remanere* Gron., cp. § 12 where P has *militaverat* and *fecerant*.

5 **quo quemque** Gron., *quocunq* P.

16 9 **destinata impedimentis data** P, which can hardly be right: most editors omit *data*. Luchs suggests insertion of *praesidio* or *custodiae* after *impedimentis*: I think the fault lies in *destinata* and should prefer to read *subsidiaque praesidio data impedimentis*.

16 **tunc difficilius** Ruperti, *vincentibus difficilius* P, *tunc vincentibus difficilius* ϛ, *tunc vincere discentibus difficilius* Madvig. Possibly *vincentibus* was originally a variant for *vincere*, see note.

17 4 **in fide** Putsche, *inde* P; Novák followed by WM place *inde* before *postquam*: for another probable instance of *in fide* corrupted to *inde* cp. XXV 15 § 16.

7 **Casilino** ϛ, *Casino* P.

laetis animis accipi Miller, *nimis accipi* P, *novas acciri* ϛ, *legionesque novas accipi* WL, *venire Numidae citi* Madvig.

tumultus tam Müller, *tam* P: Gronovius followed by WM and WL insert *motus* after *oreretur*: some such word as *tumultus* or *motus* is clearly required somewhere.

oreretur Gron., *orerecurrunt* P[1], *recurrunt* P[2].

9 **adgregantibus** Crévier, *adgregantur* P.

18 1 **vi** Heerwagen, *ut* P, a common error, so in XXV 24 § 3 P has *ut* for *vi*.

8 **ab sociis** Luchs, *sociis* Gron., *socii* P: *sociis* has the support of Madvig and may be right.

19 9 **ac spem** P, *ad spem* ϛ.

13 **radicumque** P[2], *adicitumque* P[1].

16 **emissi** R. Titius, *remissi* P.

summa cum Titius, *cumas cum* P.

17 **minus** P, *haud minus* ϛ followed by Madvig.

18 After **capite** P inserts *et tria signa*: the words seem out of place here and are omitted by all editors.

20 3 **quia** ϛ, *qui* P: Livy would probably have written *sit inlustratus* after *qui*.

21 5 **quantum argenti** ϛ, *quanti argenti* P, Madvig.

22 4 **tandem** or perhaps **Teanum** (cp. 24 § 5, 32 § 1) Luchs, *tam* P, *iam* ϛ.

inopiam patrum Hertz, *inopiam* P: the insertion somewhere of *patrum* or *senatorum* seems necessary, and *patrum* might easily have fallen out after *inopiam*, or *senatorum* (written *se* or *sen*) before *sed*.

5 **populo Romano magnopere** Crévier, *promagnore* P[1], *pro magna re* P[2].

quibus Voss, omitted in P.

9 **indicto** Alschefski, *dicto* P, *non dicto* ς, Madvig.

23 3 **fors, tempus** P, *forsan tempus* Madvig, WM; cp. Cic. p. Fonteio 25 *quid fortuna ac tempore allatum*.

6 **minores** Stroth, omitted in P, *magistratus non cepissent* Sigonius.

24 7 **occiderent** P, *conciderent* Gron., *acciderent* Doujat and Madvig who also suggests *succiderent*.

12 **sacerdotibus** Alschefski, *sacerdotis* P, *sacerdoti* ς.

ac ς, *esse ac* P.

25 2 **urbi** ς, *urbe* P. Luchs would omit the word as superfluous.

4 **attineret** Gron., *attinet* P, Madvig proposes *attinerent* with *quae* for *quod*.

6 **nec unde** Gron., Madvig adds *duo* which is found in ς, *necundo* P[1], *ne secundo* P[2].

11 **prorogari** ς, *propagari* P, so too Madvig, WM, WL.

26 2 **copias** P[1], *copiis* P[3].

mille equites Alschefski, *et equites* P, *et quingenti equites* ς: the *m* for *mille* might easily have been absorbed by *peditum*.

7 **equitum** Fischer, *peditum* P.

populandum Madvig, *depopulandum* P, the *de* having probably arisen from the preceding *ad*.

10 **flumine etiam obiecto tutum** Heerwagen, *tutum flumine etiam obiecto tum* P.

27 4 **nuntii refugientes** ed. Moguntiaca, *nuntiaresfugientes* P.

7 **corpora** ς, omitted in P.

9 **in pacto** Stroth, *in pacato* P, *pacata* Gron.

11 **possit** P, *posset* Forchhammer, Madvig.

28 4 **edoctus esset** Fabri, *edocuisse* P[1], *edocuisset* P[3].

9 **an satis** Valla, *antis* P.

11 **ad urbem** P, some qualifying expression seems necessary: *ad aliam urbem* Nitsche; Müller thinks the name of the town has dropped out of the text.

29 6 **multum** P, *militum* Harant, *minimum* Koch.

militum P, *multum* Harant.

7 **in eo** Madvig, who shows (Em. Liv. 323) that *verti in* is the usual construction; the loss of *in* here in P is due to the *m* of *patriam* as in x 39 § 7 to the *m* of *maiore* in a similar sentence:

cp. below § 11 where *in* is lost in P before *medium*, 31 § 11 after *eam*.

10 **in cornibus** ς, *cornibus* P.

11 **in medium** ς, *medium* P.

12 **iam ante mediis** Gron., *tantdantemedis* P^1, *tandem mediis* P^2.

14 **videre** Luchs, *viderent* P^1, *viderunt* P^3.

16 **spes reliqua erat** Gron., *sperelinquerat* P, *spem reliquerat* ς.

30 3 **suetae insuetaeque** Fabri, *suetaeq*. P.

foliis Alschefski, *rohis* P.

7 **vacua** ς, *vasta* P^1 and so Madvig, *vastata* P^2.

11 **senectute patris** P^2, *senectute puris simul senectute* P^1.

14 **honorem** C^2, *hono* C^1, *ibo* P^1, *ibono* P^2, *magistratum* or *honorem* ς.

15 **qui** Sigonius, *quib* P, *qui bis* ς and so Madvig.

per triduum et P, Madvig suggests that *fecerunt* may have fallen out between *triduum* and *et*, as *facere*, not *dare*, in the usual word with *ludos*.

in foro Crévier, *per triduum in foro* P: there seems no reason for the repetition of *per triduum*.

18 **antea bis** Perizonius, *antea* P, which may have been a corruption of *ante* II = *ante bis*.

31 1 **eo anno** C, *quo eo anno* P, *populo eo anno* Harant, but Livy would probably have put *populo* before or after *tributum*, cp. IV 60 § 4 (to which WM refer) *tributo populo indicto*.

3 **consul (cōs)** P^3, *cōs banis* P^1: the mysterious *banis* seems to be a part of the preceding *urbanis* out of its place.

10 **ex pridie** Wesenberg, *pridie* P.

11 **in eam in quam** ς, *in eam quam* P, the *m* having absorbed the *in*, cp. 29 § 7. Luchs suggests *in eam civitatem in quam*.

12 **subrogando** Madvig, *uni rogando* P, and so WM and WL referring to XLI 17 § 5 *consulis unius subrogandi* where Madvig says 'unius vitiose abundat,' and XLIV 13 § 7 *soluta unius urbis obsidione*. Also *rogare* is less common than *subrogare* in this connexion, but cp. XXII 35 § 2 *comitia rogando collegae*.

13 **videri eum** ς (or *videri* alone), *viderunt* P; the evidence seems in favour of the pronoun.

32 1 **inter sese diviserunt** Gronovius after ς which has *se*, *interseset-iusserunt* P^1, *interese iusserunt* P^2.

Teani Fabri, *trani* P^1, *tradi* P^2, cp. 22 § 4.

qui ibi erant Weissenborn, *que fierent* P, *qui fierent* ς.

2 **milia** the *m* for *millia* is again lost in P owing to the following M.

5 **et mille quingentos equites** Aldus, *et equites mille quingentos* ϛ, *et quingentos equites* P.

9 **imperi Romani** Luchs, *imperir* P¹, *imperi* P².

16 **Terentianum exercitum Tarentum** Madvig and Duker; P omits *exercitum Tarentum*.

33 4 **victoria** Luchs, WM, *tertiam victoria* P, *tertia victoria* ϛ, WL, *tertia iam victoria* Alschefski and Madvig, but the sound of *tertia iam pugna tertia iam victoria* is not pleasing to the ear.

7 **praetor** ϛ, omitted in P probably because the MS from which the scribe of P copied so unintelligently had *p. r.* for *populum Romanum*, followed by *p̄r* for *praetor*.

8 **demonstrat et** Luchs, *demonstrent* P, *demonstrat* Gron., *demonstrat, edocet* Müller.

12 **regi** Gron., *regibus* P.

placeret gererent ϛ, *placerent* P.

34 4 **adducti sunt. is cum** Weissenborn (1909), *adducti. cum* P: other suggestions are *adducti. is cum* Fügner, *adducti. qui cum* Riemann. The reading of P may possibly be right, so WL; *adducti. cum is* WM.

7 **et pacta** C, *et pactae et pactis* P¹, *et pactae* P².

9 **separatim** ϛ, *partim* P.

12 **parum aptum** Müller, *parum* P, *imparem* Madvig.

13 **quinque millia** ϛ, *vel* P, in this strange corruption *v* of course represents *quinque*; it occurs again 37 § 12, 46 § 4.

35 3 **erat** Weissenborn, omitted in P, inserted by Madvig after *Hamas*, but it is more likely to have fallen out after *comparant*.

4 **detegi** Madvig, *tegi* P.

6 **volonum erant** P, *volonum erat* ϛ, *volones erant* Gron.

11 **triduo** Reiz, *triduum* P, which would give the wrong sense.

13 **is summus** Fabri, *summus* P, *qui summus* Valla supposing that *qui* fell out after *medix tuticus* which the ignorant scribe of P represents by *edixituticui*.

armatorum Gron., *malorum* P rather unkindly.

14 After **operi** the MSS insert *triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas* omitted by Heerwagen and recent editors as meaningless and out of place here.

19 **capta...et signa** Weissenborn, *capta est signa* P, *capta sunt signa* ϛ: a numeral must have dropped out after *capta*, and the neuter

gender implies *millia* and clearly not less than *duo millia*. Hence Madvig proposes *capti* with a smaller number omitted after it; *capta quinque millia* WL.

36 3 **dato** Lipsius, *duo* P.

10 **procurandis prodigiis** Müller, *prodigiis* P: the word *procurandis* seems necessary. Luterbacher inserts it after *nuntiabantur*. Fügner's suggestion that *expiandis* has fallen out before *expianti* seems less probable. Luchs retains the reading of P.

37 2 **aliam turrem** P: *turrem aliam* editors after Madvig, but I am not convinced of the need for the change.

8 **elatum** ϛ, *etum* P, *laetum* Gron., Madvig.

11 **amisit** P: Madvig omits *amisit*, making *milites* the object of *cepit*. I am disposed to think he is right, though, as Luterbacher says, one would have expected *milites* to precede the numeral.

ad quadraginta P, *quadraginta* Luterbacher.

12 **Sicilinum** P, *Vicilinum* Luterbacher, cp. XXIV 44 § 8 *in Iovis Vicilini templo, quod in Compsano agro est*.

quinque milia Alschefski, *vel* P, cp. 34 § 13, 46 § 4.

38 7 **viginti quinque** Gron., *viginti* P.

parari M^{2}, *paratis* $PC^{1}M^{1}$, *paratus* C^{2}.

12 **Antistium** P, *Apustium* ϛ: it is possible that the same legate is referred to in §§ 9, 11, 12; if so *Apustium* should be read here, or the name of *Antistius* substituted for *Apustius* in §§ 9, 11. On the other hand if Livy is speaking of the same person throughout he would hardly have added the very unnecessary *legatum* in § 12.

39 1 **Romam missae** most editors, *Romae missae* P.

8 **Suessulam** Cluverius, *besumiam* P^{1}, *besuvium* $P^{2}CM$, *vesuvium* ϛ. There can be little doubt that *Suessulam* is right, cp. 17 § 3, 31 § 3, 32 § 2, 48 § 2.

40 1 **praetorem** (denoted by $\overline{pr}$) P, *propraetorem* Glareanus, omitted by Crévier and WL.

9 **deinde per** or **dein per** Madvig, *deinceps* P, *deinde* ϛ.

41 8 **praetor** (denoted by $\overline{pr}$) P, *propraetore* Gron.

11 **vento aestuque suo** Weissenborn, *aestuque suo* PCM, *aestu suo* or *aestu secundo* ϛ, *aestu secundo* WL, *vento aestuque saevo* Fügner, WM, *aestuque summo* Kästner, Alschefski, but the *que* is clearly wrong here.

42 5 **aculeo** Freinsheim, *aculeg* P^{1}, *iaculo* P^{2}.

6 **annos centum** one late MS, *annos* P, the *c* denoting *centum* having dropped out before the *c* of *cum*: other late MSS insert *prope* with varying arrangement of the three words.

13 **simul nobis addideris** WM after Luchs: I follow doubtfully: *misul nobis* P¹, *misum nobis* P², *missum nobis erit* ς, *et simul nobis* Gron., *miseris simul nobis* Madvig, *simul nobis* WL.

43 4 **se quoque** P, *quoque se* Siesbye and Luchs. If the words are read with the right intonation there is no need for transposition.

7 **temere hosti** P, *hosti temere* Koch.

10 **obterit** Ascensius, *obtegerit* P¹, *obterit* P², *obterit ut* Alschefski.

12 **praetor** (denoted by $\overline{pr}$) P, *propraetor* Luterbacher, cp. 40 § 1, 41 § 8.

13 **magis interesse** Wesenberg, *interesse* P, *magis* after *ipsorum* ς.

14 **casura** Nipperdey, *cessura* P.

44 1 **fuerit** Gron., *fuerat* P.

2 **an** Madvig, *eam* P, which, if right, belongs of course to the preceding sentence as object of *mutare*. Weissenborn proposes *eam. an*.

5 **nam** Weissenborn, *tam* P, *tamen* ς.

ceciderunt haud plus quam triginta, Romani quinquaginta P, retained by Alschefski, Luchs, WL. Other editors make all sorts of changes: *trecenti ceciderunt, haud plus quam triginta Romani* WM, arguing from 45 § 1 that a larger number of Carthaginians than of Romans must have fallen. No certainty of reading is now attainable.

45 1 **ab eodem** P, *eodem* J. H. Voss.

8 **derepto** Duker, *erepto* P followed by WL.

10 **en in minore re experiri** Madvig, *enim minor res est hic periri* P¹, for *enim* later MSS give *etenim* or *cum* or *en*. WM read *en, hic minor res est, hic experiri*.

46 4 **quinque milia** Gron., *vel* P, cp. 34 § 13, 37 § 12.

occisi P, *occisis* Luchs.

6 **ducenti septuaginta duo** (denoted by $\overline{\text{CCLXXII}}$ = 272000!) P; Alschefski suggests *trecenti viginti duo* (CCCXXII) to suit Plutarch Marcellus 12 ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους.

7 **ager** P¹, *agere* P², who inserts *locus* before *datus* understanding 'a place was given to them to dwell in' (*agere*).

9 **tenendum** ς, *petendum* P, *obtinendum* Madvig, *retinendum* Hertz.

13 **hic tunc** Riemann, *hunc* P, *hic* ς, *is tunc* Luchs, WL, WM, *tunc* Walch.

47 4 **extrahebant** P^2, *extraherebant* P^1, *extrahere* Gron. and Madvig. The historic infinitive, though often abruptly used by Livy, seems out of place here after *dein.*

5 **Romanus Campano** editors, *Campanus Romano* P and Alschefski, perhaps *Campano Romanus* Müller.

7 **cava** Madvig, *exua* P^1, *ex via* P^2, *ea via* Perigonius omitting *via* after *perequitasset* and adopting *quia* in place of it from P^1, so Alschefski.

8 **quam vera sit** Gron., *quam vetatis* P, *quae quam vera sit* Luchs, *quam vera ea sit* Müller.

communis Valla, *communis certe* P, where *certe* has slipped in from the following clause.

porta Ingerslev and Madvig, *portae* P.

48 3 **exercitu** ς, WM, WL, *exercitum* P^2, Luchs, *et exercitum* P^1; the accusative is possible but not probable.

5 **sumant** P^2, *sumatq* P^1, *sumatur* Alschefski.

8 **ceterum** Luchs, WM, *eum* P, followed by Alschefski, *verum* ς: some editors omit the word altogether. Did Livy write *verum enim vero*? cp. IV 4 § 9, XXIV 5 § 2, XXIX 8 § 7 etc.

10 **tempus** P, *ad tempus* ς.

12 **quoque die** Weissenborn, *quo* P, *qua die* ς, *et quo die* Madvig. Drakenborch prefers the feminine *quaque die* or *et qua die*, cp. 49 § 1 *ubi ea dies venit.*

vestimenta ac frumentum editors; P omits *ac*. See note above on 12 § 4.

49 2 **periculo essent** P, *periculo tuta essent* Sigonius, but cp. XXV 3 § 10 *quia publicum periculum erat a vi tempestatis.*

4 **nec quicquam parcius militibus datum quam si** Madvig and Weissenborn, *nec quicquam si* P, the copyist's roving eye having strayed from the last syllable of *quicquam* to the following *quam*: the gap may of course be filled up in other ways, as *nec quicquam secus exercitui praestitum quam si* Frigell.

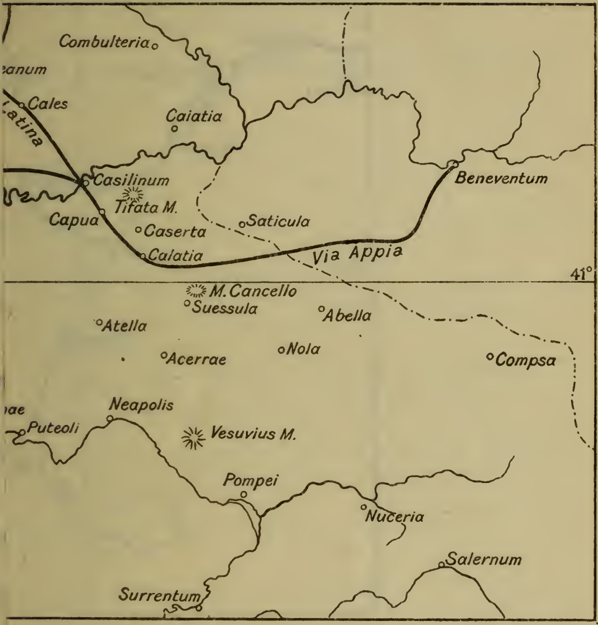
11 **signa septem elephantos** Gron., *signavit elephantis* P, where *vit* represents VII.

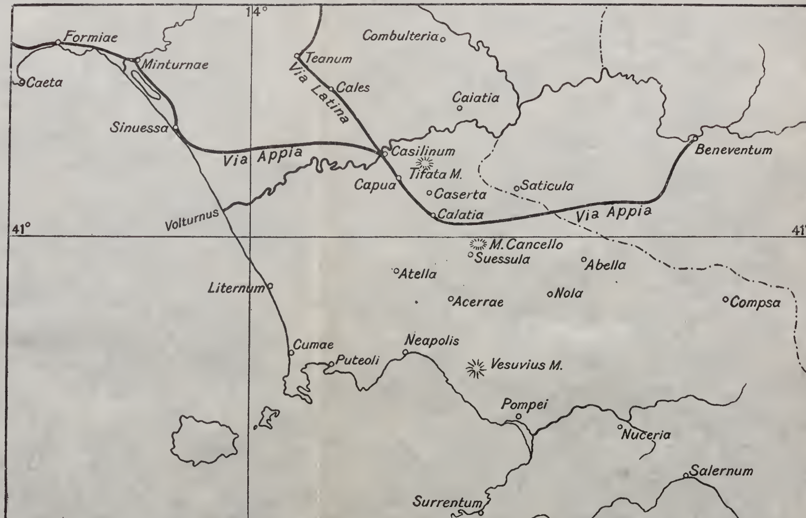
13 **duo** Gron., *ti* P^1 (corruption of numeral II), *q* P^2, *quinque* ς.

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